Hittites: Schweich Lectures

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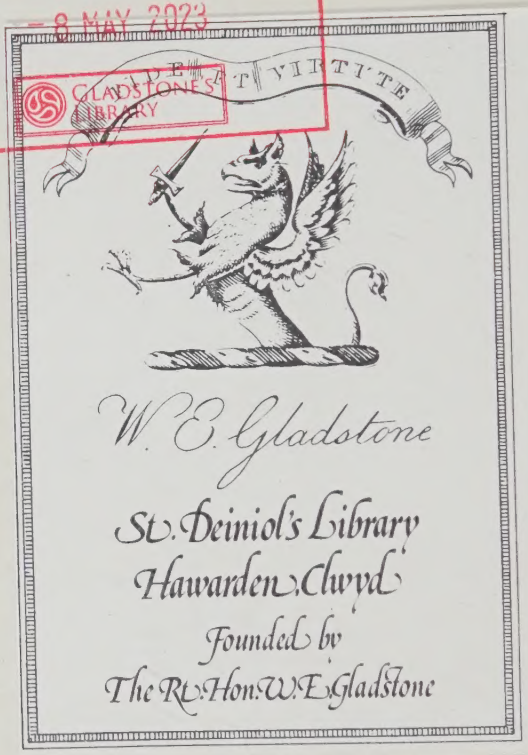

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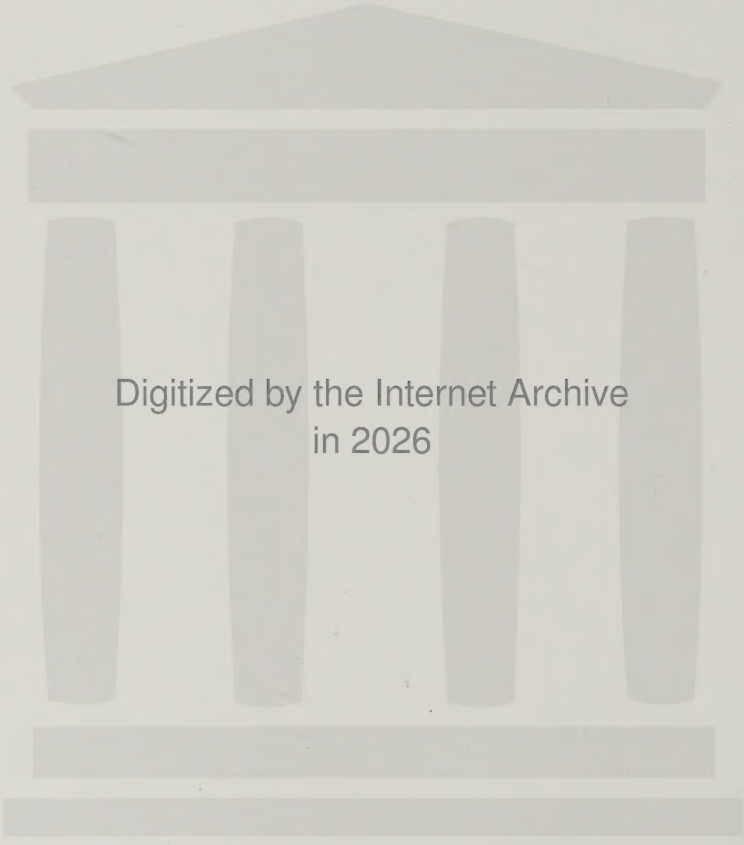
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Kings of the Hittites

CARCHEMISH: LOOKING WEST FROM ACROPOLIS OVER ROYAL QUARTER

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Kings of the Hittites

By

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PREFACE

The three Lectures which follow are printed as nearly as may be in the actual words delivered, and their illustrations have been selected from a larger number actually shown to my audiences. Like my predecessor, Dr. A. E. Cowley, who lectured on the Hittites in the Schweich Series for 1918, I feel that the time has not come to attempt fuller treatment. Such reserve seems to me incumbent on any one who deals with the *Southern* Hittites, seeing how small is the progress yet made with the excavations of North Syrian and North Mesopotamian mounds, and that all such excavations which have been made, whether at Carchemish, at Zenjirli, at Sakjegeuzi, or at Tell Khalaf, still remain imperfectly published. Therefore I have not followed the practice of some previous lecturers on the Schweich Foundation, who expanded their spoken discourses into more voluminous books.

I have read with much profit the illuminating articles contributed to the periodical *Syria* by Prof. Edmond Pottier, and have confessed (in foot-notes) my adoption of more than one of his observations and ideas. The scope of my treatment has absolved me from making use of, or passing judgement upon, recent publications of Boghazkeui cuneiform archives; but may I say that I remain not less doubtful of the propriety of using most of these as historical material than I was when I contributed to the second and third volumes of the *Cambridge Ancient History*?

I have to thank the Director of the British Museum for permission to use illustrations and other material from Carchemish; also Prof. Eduard Meyer for leave to reproduce illustrations from his book on the Hittite Empire and Civilization, which remains the best general study of the subject. My acknowledgements to the publishers of the Zenjirli book will be found in their place. I am greatly indebted to Mr. John Johnson, Printer to the University of Oxford, for various help.

D. G. HOGARTH.

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KINGS OF THE HITTITES

LECTURE I

The Hittite subject has been treated in a course of Schweich Lectures within recent years,[1] and if I am to rehandle it after so short an interval, there should be restriction of the field in space or time or both, with fuller treatment of some part. As it happens, a geographical distinction can be imposed which coincides with a chronological division. The Hittite monuments north of a line drawn obliquely through the peninsula of Asia Minor from the upper waters of the Halys river to the southern end of the Beysheher Lake are as a whole stylistically earlier than those south of that line. If a lecturer on the Schweich Foundation is to choose between those two geographical areas and chronological periods, he can hardly fail to opt for the southern area and the later period, since these alone fell within the ken of the historic Hebrews. Even were this not so, I should prefer the southern area at the present moment, because it is upon this and upon the later Hittite period that the British Museum's excavations at Carchemish, with which I have been personally associated from the first, shed the most of their light. Dr. Cowley was able to make some use of their results in 1918; but much fuller use can be made of them to-day. On all grounds, therefore, I choose the south.

Hence my title. The phrase 'Kings of the Hittites' in the Authorized Version of the Old Testament (hereinafter called shortly, O.T.) occurs only in chronicles of the historic age. At whatever dates these were written, the phrase reflected a popular tradition, already of more or less long standing, that, contemporaneously with the earlier period of the Jewish Monarchy, certain states existing to the north of Palestine used in common a distinctive culture which seemed identical in its leading features with that associated with certain northern invaders of Syria in an earlier age. These invaders had left a long memory, illustrated by other passages of O.T. which allude to a Hittite Empire reaching the Euphrates on the one hand and the Lebanon on the other. Since the Chosen People were settled in

[1] In 1918, by Dr. A. E. Cowley.

Palestine no such Hittite Empire had existed—not, indeed, since the close of the thirteenth century B.C., a period so remote from the earliest date at which any part of O.T. can be presumed committed to writing, that traditions of it were as old historic memories as the men of the Monarchy can reasonably be expected to have retained.

In the earliest days of the Hebrew Monarchy the ethnical term, Hittites, connoted no longer an imperial race under one government, but the inhabitants of several comparatively small and mutually independent states, of which the southernmost seems to have been Hamath. Hamathite territory is at any rate the nearest to Galilee in which any sure evidence of occupation by Hittite civilization at any period has yet appeared, Restan, on the Orontes, some twenty miles above Hamah, being the southernmost point at which a Hittite monument has been found. None rewarded the French excavators of Tell Nebi Mend (perhaps the site of Kadesh) five and thirty miles farther south; and, although influences of Hittite culture may have reached such districts as Bashan, no civilization that, as a whole, can be called Hittite has left a trace in any part of trans-Jordan.

Fig. 1. PLAN OF ZENJIRLI.
A. South Gate. B. Citadel Outer Gate.
C. Citadel Inner Gate.
From A. S. ii (*Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*), pl. 29.

Hamath was Hittite in the days of David, to whom Toi, its King, showed himself friendly.[1] Therefore his son, when he took to himself wives of the Hittites, chose in all likelihood one at least of these from the royal house of Hamath in order to maintain and cement that friendship. An enumeration of Solomon's diplomatic marriages[2] follows a geographical curve through the lands of the immediate neighbours of Israel from Edom to the sea at Sidon, and only thereafter mentions the Hittite wife, as though she came from a district outside that curve. Doubtless,

[1] II Sam. viii. 9; I Chron. xxiii. 9. I presume that in both passages the well-known Hamath is meant. But see Cheyne in *Enc. Bibl.*, *s.v.* Toi.

[2] I Kings xi. 1.

however (seeing how local the other alliances were), her home was not far from its northern horn.

While we are assured by the local presence of Hittite monuments that Hamath enjoyed, at one period, Hittite civilization, we do not know that it ever had a population racially kin to the typical Hittites of earlier times, i.e. the Hatti of Cappadocia. Recorded names of Hamathite Kings, under the Second Assyrian Empire, seem Semitic; and the fact that Sargon speaks of one, in the late eighth century, as being 'of the vile Hatti', proves nothing to the contrary, since Mesopotamians often, if not always, bestowed ethnic appellations according to type of culture rather than to blood. For that matter, as we shall see presently, there certainly existed, elsewhere in Syria, kings and peoples of Hittite culture whose names and speech were Semitic.

Fig. 2. ZENJIRLI.
Dado slabs from the South Gate.
Schematic drawing from A. S. iii, pl. 34.

A northward wayfarer from Palestine, in the time of the early Monarchy, who after passing 'the entering in of Hamath' found himself in presence of Hittite civilization, would have had to fare a long way farther to find it again. Before he could do this he would have emerged from the Orontes valley altogether (so far as we can judge by monumental evidence) and travelled across a wide interval into the extreme northern section of Syria beyond Killis; for the Hittite civilization of Hamath was but an outlier of 'Hattism', advanced southward along a trunk-road. It is true that, in the times both of the Cappadocian and of the Second Assyrian Empires, there was a state called Hattina lying on the lower Orontes at or about Kalaat el-Mudik. This has been believed Hittite,[1] but its name is the sole warrant for that belief. In any case the homeland of the Kings of the Hittites in Jewish historic days lay farther north—in what, under Hellenistic and Roman rule, was to be Commagene.

[1] See Garstang, *Land of the Hittites*, p. 271, &c.

From Killis to the foot-hills of Taurus the traveller is hardly ever out of sight of flat-topped mounds of Hittite type, or fails to find small Hittite antiquities in the hands of peasants. Three of those mounds, or groups of mounds, have been excavated scientifically, namely Zenjirli, in the extreme west; Sakjegeuzi, about fifteen miles eastward; and Jerabis or Jerablus, in the extreme east, on the Euphrates itself. It is by the results of these excavations that the general period of North Syrian

Fig. 3. ZENJIRLI.
Horseman from South Gate.
From A. S. iii, pl. 35.

Fig. 4. TELL KHALAF.
Horseman from the earlier dado series.
From the original in the British Museum, by permission.

Hittite civilization has been fixed, and by a survey of them that the characteristic features of this civilization and also the relative importance of the contemporary societies, which the historic Hebrews of Palestine knew for Hittite, can best be illustrated.

(a) *Zenjirli.*

Zenjirli, though not the most important of the three places in Hittite times, should, on more than one account, be considered first. The kernel of its site has been searched more thoroughly and the results of the search have been published more completely [1] than has been the lot of either of the other sites; also,

[1] In *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, I to IV (hereinafter referred to as A. S.), issued by the Orient-Comité of Berlin from 1893 to 1911. My illustrations are all taken from this publication by kind permission of Messrs. Walter de Gruyter & Co., to whom the rights have passed. See later, pp. 17, 18, for a qualification of the statement made above.

Fig. 5. ZENJIRLI.
Gateway Lion of the oldest style.
From A. S. iii, pl. 46.

Fig. 6. ZENJIRLI.
Part of the dado series from the Citadel Outer Gate.
From A. S. iii, pl. 37.

there and there alone have been found intelligible inscriptions of the Hittite age—texts couched, that is to say, in scripts and tongues other than the Hittite. Some of these, which can be dated by their contents, are associated with sculptures, and serve to fix the periods of plastic styles exemplified also on other sites where no local evidence exists for dating the Hittite monuments.

Although Samal, the ancient town at Zenjirli, was a less important Hittite centre than Carchemish, it was far from unim-

Fig 7. ZENJIRLI.
Cit adel Gate Series. Browsing goats.
From A. S. iii, pl. 38.

Fig. 8. ZENJIRLI.
Citadel Gate Series. Lion and Bull.
From A. S. iii, pl. 45.

portant. It occupied a key position on a marshy upland watershed between a feeder of the Pyramus and a feeder of the Orontes, where two trunk roads met and crossed. One of these, coming from Marash and the mouths of the Tauric passes which converge on that town, was the northernmost section of the axial highway of all Syria. The other, coming from the Euphrates at Carchemish and proceeding over Mount Amanus into Cilicia, was a prolongation of the main east–west track of war and commerce, which rounded the head of the Mesopotamian desert. This prolongation became of great importance to Assyria when, in the ninth century B.C., she had tasted the delights of Cilicia; and during the rest of the Second Empire it was held strongly as her principal avenue of approach to Tarsus, where Sennacherib built him a palace and Ashurbanipal died.

In such a strategic situation Samal could not fail to taste more than one civilization and attain culture superior to the North

Syrian average. Excavation of its site, therefore, was expected to produce evidence of the passage or sojourn of at least three invading elements—Hatti coming and going, during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, between their Cappadocian homeland and their south-Tauric client-states; Aramaean Semites, whom we know to have flooded across the Euphrates into North Syria from the twelfth century onwards, and even to have passed Mount Amanus; and Assyrians in their second imperial expansion, from the ninth century to the seventh.

Fig. 9. ZENJIRLI.
Citadel Gate Series. Chimaera-sphinx.
Compare Fig. 35.
From A. S. iii, pl. 43.

Fig. 10. ZENJIRLI.
Gateway Lion of Second Style.
From A. S. iii, pl. 48.

Clear vestiges of the second and third of these three sets of invaders did in fact come to light during the search of the site by successive expeditions sent out by the Orient-Comité of Berlin. At the same time, the results, proving that the basis of a local culture, which was obstinately persistent throughout the period in question, was not Semitic, but Hittite, flattered expectation of traces of the first invasion also, that of the imperial Hatti. What, indeed, more likely than that the historic southward expansion of the possessors of the distinctive and virile culture, which early remains in Cappadocia exemplify, should have introduced the basic features of their civilization to Zenjirli, and indeed all Hittite features whatever to Syria? Have the excavations, however, produced positive evidence to justify and satisfy that expectation? The core of Zenjirli has been searched too thoroughly for such evidence to have been entirely overlooked. If a local stratum of any period contained it, some must have

been disclosed. What, then, have the successive strata yielded? Have any remains been revealed which manifestly are Cappadocian Hattic, wholly or in part?

1. The most primitive plastic style illustrated at Zenjirli is seen in dado-reliefs from the South Gate of the Town (Figs. 1, 2), and in certain lion-figures found at the inner gate of the Acropolis, on which a succession of palaces was built for the local princes. This style (Fig. 2) has been referred to an undetermined date in the Second Millennium B.C. both by the German excavators and by recognized authorities who subsequently have worked over their results.[1] I propose to attempt a closer determination; but, since this can be achieved only by working backwards from monuments whose period is fixed by epigraphic or other independent evidence, all the plastic styles must first be passed in review. In this process, I shall direct attention chiefly to those characteristics of each set of monuments in turn which have bearing, direct or indirect, on the question of the date of the oldest of the styles.

Fig. 11. ZENJIRLI.
Citadel Gate Series. Horseman and Bull.
From A. S. iii, pl. 44.

Fig. 13. ZENJIRLI.
Citadel Gate Series. God and goddess.
From A. S. iii, pl. 41.

In these dado-reliefs the absence of face-hair is to be noted and also the general, but not invariable, presence of the plaited pigtail. Further, all figures, if shod, have shoes with upturned toes. The men wear a short bordered tunic, not falling

[1] e.g. by Prof. E. Pottier and Prof. E. Meyer. See *Syria*, vol. ii, pp. 22 ff. and *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter*, pp. 59 &c.

to a point in front, as was the Hattic fashion. The facial type is not unlike the Cappadocian, and motives and attitudes are usually among those familiar in North Cappadocian art. On the other hand, while nothing in general or in detail recalls anything neo-Assyrian, this scheme of decoration by dado-sculpture, this stunt scale of the figures, and here and there a detail, e.g. the dressing of hair in a plaited pigtail, can be paralleled in South Mesopotamian art. One figure in particular, a horseman with round buckler who carries an enemy's head, is remarkably like a horseman on a dado-slab found by von Oppenheim at Tell Khalaf in mid North Mesopotamia and now in the British Museum (Figs. 3, 4). Both horsemen ride barefoot; but it is to be observed that the Mesopotamian wears his face-hair.

Fig. 12. ZENJIRLI.
The earlier Hadad statue, with lion-base.
From A. S. iv, p. 365, fig. 265 (cf. also pl. 64).

In the earliest gateway-lions another South Mesopotamian feature is repeated, viz. combination of sculpture in the round with relief, as in Sumerian copper work. This feature appears also in Cappadocian Hattic art, e.g. in decoration of the second period on the Palace gateway at Euyuk Alaja. The Zenjirli lions in question (Fig. 5) strike one as early efforts of a plastic school which did not study the beast in life, but followed a half-remembered convention which had originated elsewhere. To Syria at least it introduced another distinctive feature of treatment (peculiar to Hittite renderings of the lion) by exaggeration of the hinder claws and especially of their curvature. But the Zenjirli school did not invent this peculiarity; it had appeared already at Euyuk Alaja in Cappadocia. We shall find it in use at Carchemish also, in its earliest series of sculptures, which are probably independent of, though a little later than, the earliest plastic work at Zenjirli.

Fig. 14. GERCHIN (ZENJIRLI).
The later Hadad statue, with inscribed skirt.
From A. S. i, pl. 6.

2. The next stage of the local sculptor's art is represented by

dado-slabs found at the Outer Gate of the Citadel (Fig. 6). With these should be grouped certain free-standing lions, of which one, at any rate, like the elder lion already mentioned, guarded some part of the Inner Gate. In these dados one notes the same Hittite peculiarities of dress and hair-fashion as appeared in the earlier class; but the pigtail does not invariably prevail against a new fashion of wearing the locks cut and bunched on the nape of the neck. A second noteworthy innovation is the wearing of face-hair in Sumerian fashion, i.e. as chin-beard and whiskers, but not moustache, the lower lip, as well as the upper, being shaven. Comparing these dados with those of the South Gate, one remarks advance in both human and animal portrayal; and that one of the most freely rendered animal groups, two goats erect on their hind legs and browsing on clumps of reeds (Fig. 7), betrays a foreign influence, probably Egyptian. For the lions, stags, bulls, and monstrous 'sphinx' combinations, no foreign model has served; and though they show considerable development in the rendering of action and in the articulation of body forms, they remain uncouth and heavy. Their conventions are peculiar. Note especially that used for the articulation of the shoulder, whether of lions, bulls, or stags (Figs. 8, 9).

Fig. 15. ZENJIRLI.
King Bar Rekub.
From A. S. iv, pl. 60.

Of gateway lion-figures, which are to be referred to the same stage of art, an example is given on pl. 48 of the Zenjirli publication. In all details of head-form, in the proportion of legs to body, and in the delineation of tail and mane this lion (Fig. 10) shows marked superiority to the earlier one, whose exaggerated claw-form has come to be greatly modified in his successor's. As a whole, Zenjirli sculpture in the Second stage appears to have grown less Hittite; also it shows less reminiscence of Sumerian art. But no very long interval of time can be supposed to divide it from the First stage. The sculptor of, e.g., the horseman pursuing

a bull in the Citadel Series (Fig. 11) can hardly have lived more than a generation or two after the sculptor of the horseman at the South Town Gate (Fig. 3); and the later artist, as well as the earlier, preceded the local advent of any neo-Assyrian influence.

With this dado-series and lion must be grouped a statue representing, probably, the god Hadad, which stood on a pedestal supported by two lions held in leash by a sword-girt figure in running attitude (Fig. 12). Though statue and pedestal were found separately, there is no doubt that they formed one monument. As to the propriety of grouping it with the Citadel dados, comparison of the god's physiognomy with that of, e.g., the lightning god in that series (Fig. 13), would carry conviction, even were the supporting lions less like the younger lion of the inner Citadel gate (Fig. 10) in general style and details of treatment. At the same time the Hadad statue shows features which imply some advance on the Citadel dado style. The treatment of hair, whether on head or on face, in formalized spirals is new; so also is the arrangement of the head-curls in concentric zones. The latter feature, like the exaggerated opening and protuberance of the eyes,[1] is non-Assyrian. The short-sleeved robe and the peculiar girdle have already appeared once at least on the Citadel dados (a further justification for grouping this Hadad monument with those sculptures).[2] As for the lions, the protruding tongue, recalling the Gorgon type, which is now known to have been used in Hattic Cappadocian cult, is seen for the first time. The running figure between the beasts calls for no special remark, except that only his Hittite foot-gear impairs his generally South Mesopotamian look. The whole monument, indeed, suggests

Fig. 16. EUYUK.
Palace Gate Façade: lower tier.
Boar and stag hunt.
From Macridy, *Porte des Sphinx à Euyuk*.

[1] See Pottier in *Syria*, i, p. 270, &c.

[2] A. S., pl. 37 c. This girdle should be compared with those worn by certain Carchemish figures of (probably) the early eighth century B. C. See fig. 45. Girdles of the same tasselled pattern, secured in the same way, are worn still by North Syrian Arabs. I have one in my possession.

Babylonian influence, though no near parallel to it exists in Babylonian or in any other alien art.

3. In the next or third stage of local art a date is reached that approximately can be fixed. A second Hadad statue (Fig. 14), dedicated in relieved Semitic characters by Panammu, son of Karal, King of Jaidi, was found, not at Zenjirli itself, but on a site called Gerchin, some two miles away. The period of this Panammu, as is known from Assyrian records, falls round about

Fig. 17. EUYUK.
Palace Gate Façade, upper tier.
From Garstang, *Land of the Hittites*, pl. 72.

800 B.C. By this date the local art of human portrayal has made obvious improvement. The eyes are represented, no longer *à fleur de tête*, but well sunken under the brows; the ears, which the sculptor of the earlier Hadad had set much too high, are rightly placed; and the spiral strands of face-hair are more precisely formalized. The statue well illustrates the vitality of this native North Syrian plastic school; even so late as 800 B.C. it was owing little or nothing to Assyria.

4. A fourth stage brings us to the last years of the eighth century. Samal had felt the heavy hand of Tiglath Pileser III in 740 B.C., when one Panammu, son of Bar Sur, (not the same Panammu as the dedicator of the second Hadad) was on its throne. To him a son, Bar Rekub, succeeded as obedient client

of Assyria ; in token whereof he wears (on his stela Fig. 15) face hair, no longer in the Sumerian fashion, but in the Assyrian, i.e. as full beard, whiskers, and moustache, neither lip being shaven at all. His curls also are dressed in Assyrian fashion and not as the spiral locks of predecessors. In his long deep-fringed robe he presents a fair imitation of a Semitic Great King ; but he still has the Semitic inscription carved in relief according to the old Hittite method ; and his sculptor was plainly no Assyrian, but an

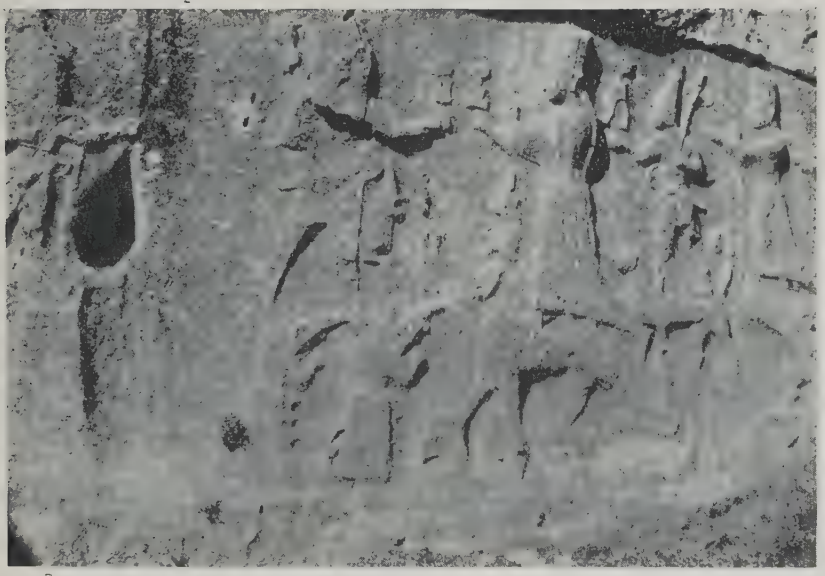

Fig. 18. YASILI KAYA.
Main group on back wall.
From Garstang, *loc. cit.*, pl. 65.

inheritor of local traditions, which he followed where not bidden expressly to Assyrianize. On another monument of identical style Bar Rekub proclaims himself worshipper of a typically Semitic god, Baal of Harran in North Mesopotamia.

Yet a fifth style is represented monumentally at Zenjirli—a style of the early seventh century, uncouthly debased by imitation of Assyrian art and conventions (see the stela of Asarhaddon).[1] But it is not important to my present purpose, for it is from the fourth and the third styles, whose approximate periods are assured, that we must look back to the second and the first which we left chronologically unfixed. Since the original development of the third may reasonably be dated back into the ninth

[1] A. S. i, pls. i and iii.

century, the point at which in a retrospective survey we must leave firm ground may be taken to be about 850 B.C.— approximately the moment when the North Syrian Hittite states first felt seriously the westward thrust of the Second Assyrian Empire. Before that date the lapse of some generations must be allowed for the history of the Second Style, in order to account for the considerable artistic advance made by the sculptor of the second Hadad upon the creator of the first, and for the development of Mesopotamian features out of the purer Hittite style of

Fig. 19. BOGHAZKEUI.
Gateway Lion.
From Puchstein, *Bauwerke von Boghasköi*, pl. 24.

Fig. 20. KARA BEL (Nymphi).
From Garstang, *loc. cit.*, pl. 54.

the Citadel Gate dados. But, none the less, for reasons already stated, the style of the earlier Hadad is not sufficiently differentiated from that of those dados, or the second Hadad from the first, for the permissible total of generations, during which the whole development of the Second Style was worked out, to be more than four or five. Therefore, I suggest 1000 B.C. as its extreme upper limit.

If the Citadel Gate dados be no older than the First Millennium, the sculptures of the South Gate can hardly be pushed back so much as a full century into that Second Millennium to which both Pottier and Meyer have referred them, with the implication, if I mistake not, that they were contemporary with the earliest extant Cappadocian Hattic sculptures. The stylistic difference between

them and the Citadel dados, while unmistakable, is less than that which distinguishes the latter from the second Hadad statue. The substitution of bearded for smooth faces, which implies a change of current fashion rather than an artistic development, may have been due to a local revolution of racial predominance, such as might have happened suddenly through invasion and conquest; and in any case it needed no more than the lapse of a generation. In default of positive objective ground for dating, one can only proceed upon subjective inference. By this,

Fig. 21. BOGHAZKEUI.
God on Gate-jamb.
From Puchstein, *Bauwerke von Boghasköi*, pl. 19.

Fig. 22.
Bronze figurine at Berlin.
(E. Meyer, *Reich u. Kultur der Chetiter*, Fig. 82.)

for what it is worth, I judge that the reasonable allowance of time for the development of the second Zenjirli plastic style out of the first ought not to exceed two or, at most, three generations, and therefore, that the South Gate dados should not be pushed farther back than 1100 B.C. and probably were made at least a generation later than that date.

Such dating of the earliest extant sculptures at Zenjirli, which to all appearance are as early as any Hittite sculptures of Syria, raises the whole question of the parentage of Syrian Hittite civilization. From what source and in what age was this derived? Is it possible that a Syrian monumental art, whose first known

work is of the eleventh century, owed its initial inspiration to a Cappadocian Hattic art, whose latest known work had reached, two centuries earlier, a stage of development far in advance of that in which Zenjirli began? If the South Gate sculptures were to be affiliated to any known Cappadocian style, this could only be that of the Euyuk façade-dados, which belong probably to a period older again by two centuries than the latest Cappadocian style—that is, to the fifteenth century B.C. On that supposition some four hundred years must be supposed to have elapsed before the daughter art came to birth at Zenjirli, and some six centuries before the erection there of the oldest monument, whose age is approximately fixed.

The Euyuk reliefs in question do offer, in fact, some analogies with certain Zenjirli reliefs of both the first and the second plastic styles; but they are analogies of motive, not execution. For example, the same heavy-horned stags and the same kneeling archers appear at both places (Fig. 16). But the motives are treated differently; and, if all the Euyuk figures on the one hand and all the Zenjirli figures on the other are compared, too many dissimilarities of style and treatment leap to the eye for a parental relation to be credible. The South Gate dados, which show human figures of much less primitive appearance than the Euyuk figures, suggest not only a much later date, but also a different Mesopotamian influence. Moreover, animal figures at Euyuk (Fig. 17) have developed a vigour and movement which are full of a promise not realized at Zenjirli. Compare, for example, the boar and stag-hunt at Euyuk (Fig. 16) with the Zenjirli stag-hunt. The latter is obviously nearer to the first effort of incipient art than the former. On the whole issue one can only conclude that the Cappadocian and the Syrian branches of Hittite art were derived independently of one another from some common stock, and that subsequently they developed in independence.

If the further development of Cappadocian Hattic style be followed from Euyuk to Boghazkeui, and from the fifteenth century down to the fourteenth and the thirteenth, its divergence from the earliest Hittite style of Syria grows ever wider. The full art of the Hattic Imperial Age is represented by the Yasili Kaya reliefs (Fig. 18), by some sculptures at Euyuk (not in the façade), by monuments in the city at Boghazkeui (Fig. 19), and by rock-reliefs (Fig. 20) found at various points in Asia Minor west and south of the Hattic homeland. The general period of

all these monuments is fixed by the style of seal-imprints on cuneiform tablets in the archives of Hattic Kings of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries. Now one glance at the central group at Yasili Kaya (Fig. 18)—a typical example of the style prevalent probably in the earlier part of that period—will convince any one not only that Hattic art was making no nearer approach to the first Syrian style in the thirteenth than in the fifteenth century, but also that it had forged already far ahead of this latter style in the expression of both human and animal forms. And if examples of the very latest part of the Hattic Imperial Age be considered, it is even easier to see that Cappadocian art had developed in a direction leading farther and farther away from the beginnings of Zenjirli plastic art. Such examples are the relief of a warrior-god on the inner jamb of the 'King's Gate' at Boghazkeui (Fig. 21), and an admirable Cappadocian bronze, now at Berlin, which was published by Meyer[1] (Fig. 22).

It comes, then, to this: if Syrian Hittite art is to be affiliated to the North Cappadocian, a Hattic style even earlier than the earliest illustrated at Euyuk would have to be presumed. That Hattic plastic work more primitive than any of the Euyuk sculptures did exist, and will some day be brought to light, is not only possible, but probable. The tradition and sense of composition and the knowledge and executive skill shown, for example, in the Euyuk hunting-scene (Fig. 16) argue it not the first effort of the plastic school which was developed in Cappadocia (having originated elsewhere?). But if such a pre-Euyuk style existed, its examples will have to be referred to so early an age—presumably prior to 1500 B.C.—that the chronological gap between them and my suggested date for the beginning of sculpture at Zenjirli would be widened to four centuries, to fill which no intermediate artistic link in Syria, or, for that matter, elsewhere, has been found. Alternatively, should the earliest Zenjirli monuments be pushed back so as to approximate in time to such a pre-Euyuk style, and be presumed the fruit of prehistoric contact between Syria and the Cappadocian Hatti, then an immense chronological gulf will open between the first two classes of plastic monuments at Zenjirli and its third class, which is demonstrably of no earlier century than the ninth. To bridge that gulf Zenjirli

[1] *Reich und Kultur*, p. 109, fig. 82, here reproduced by kind permission of the author. This male statuette discounts the view that the prominence of the breasts on the Boghazkeui relief proves the figure to be that of a woman, and an 'Amazon'. It clearly represents, as was to be expected, the Hattic War-god.

offers nothing, deeply and carefully excavated though the best part of its site has been. It is true that not all that was found there by the German expeditions has been given to the world. The official publication was confined to sculpture, epigraphy, and architecture, and the excavators are still silent, after twenty years, about objects in pottery, terra-cotta, metals, &c., though many such, in fact, were found. It is a thousand pities that scholars should remain unaware of these, or of the relations, if any, which the excavators established between them and the architecture and sculpture. But is there any reason to expect the earliest of such objects to furnish better material for the bridge required than has been supplied by the two other North Syrian Hittite sites, which have been probed to the bottom, viz. Sakjegeuzi and Carchemish, presently to be considered? The earliest remains on these sites, as will be seen, fail to indicate, before the closing century of the Second Millennium, the local presence of any culture that can be distinguished as Hittite, or, indeed, of any pre-Hittite culture of such character and quality as can have heralded, or conduced to, the appearance of the earliest Syrian monumental art of which we have any examples.

Since the published architectural results of the Zenjirli excavations agree with the evidence of those two sites, such as it is, a word should be said of these results before we pass to other remains. They are important and interesting, not only because they carry local history back behind the earliest of the sculptures, but also because, in default of small domestic objects, they must serve alone to illustrate the social state and daily life of the Hittite population, and especially of those 'Kings of the Hittites' who occupied the palaces built one in succession to another on the Citadel.

The architectural remains at Zenjirli represent two periods of activity in palatial construction which were divided and followed by periods of destruction and decay. The first palace period succeeded an indeterminate age of mean village life, which, probably, was not Hittite. A still more clearly marked epoch of destruction which followed the second palace period is dated, with much probability, to the reign of Asarhaddon of Assyria, who has recorded on a great stela found on the site his subjugation of the revolting local prince. It was succeeded again by a period, longer but indefinite, in which all the palaces lapsed to ruin amid a medley of encroaching dwellings. In the Second Palace period, and perhaps also in the First, the type of royal residence

called by Assyrians, from the twelfth century to the eighth, a '*Khilani* according to the Hatti', but not observed thus far on any Cappadocian site, was in vogue (Fig. 23). A 'Khilani' was of massive construction and simple plan, length being disproportionate to depth. A single shallow hall, entered directly from the centre of a long façade, and flanked by towers, had a single range of small chambers, including sometimes a bathroom, behind it and also often along one or both of its flanks. Such is still the plan of a great Arab or Kurdish tent. From what 'Hatti', living in what region, the Assyrians took over the 'Khilani' as early at least as the twelfth century, is not ascertained at present; but they did not borrow it from the Hatti of Cappadocia. Being a structure designed to promote the comfort of its tenants better in hot weather than in cold (for which reason Assyrian kings seem to have adopted it for the purposes of summer residence) it would not have been in place on the Cappadocian plateau.

A generation ago, when the known Hittite monuments could hardly be distinguished one from another in respect of date, they were regarded as representing a culture deeply indebted from first to last to the Assyrian; and indeed, to judge by such views as were expressed by Otto Puchstein in his *Pseudo-hettitische Kunst*, the Hittite civilization was thought little better than a pale reflection of the Assyrian. Now the growing knowledge of Hittite history, the enlarged body of examples of Hittite art, and the fuller study that can be made of its details, have brought about a reaction. Not only is a preponderant element of independence recognized in Hittite culture, but the relation in which this used to be assumed to stand to the Assyrian tends to be inverted. This is to say, the debt of Assyria to the Hatti is coming more and more to be regarded, on the balance of account, as greater than her credit. It is certainly true that on Hittite architectural and monumental art no Assyrian culture, of which we have any adequate knowledge at present, has left a mark before the three latest centuries (the ninth, eighth, and seventh) during which any distinctively Hittite culture persisted; and that, even in these centuries, when Assyrian influence becomes recognizable, we still find abundant evidence of the continued vitality of a previous independent tradition. Not only do the Hittite palace-plans remain non-Assyrian to the end, but so also does the Hittite scheme of fortification, especially the gate-plan (Fig. 24). This never approached the tunnel type of the Assyrian gate, but, from first to last, both in Cappadocia and in Syria, demanded a

hypaethral chamber or succession of chambers, entered and left by arched portals set back from the outer and inner faces of the main wall. The dado-system of external decoration and the ornamental members of Hittite colonnades also preserved, down to at least the close of the eighth century, traditions that cannot be traced to Assyria.

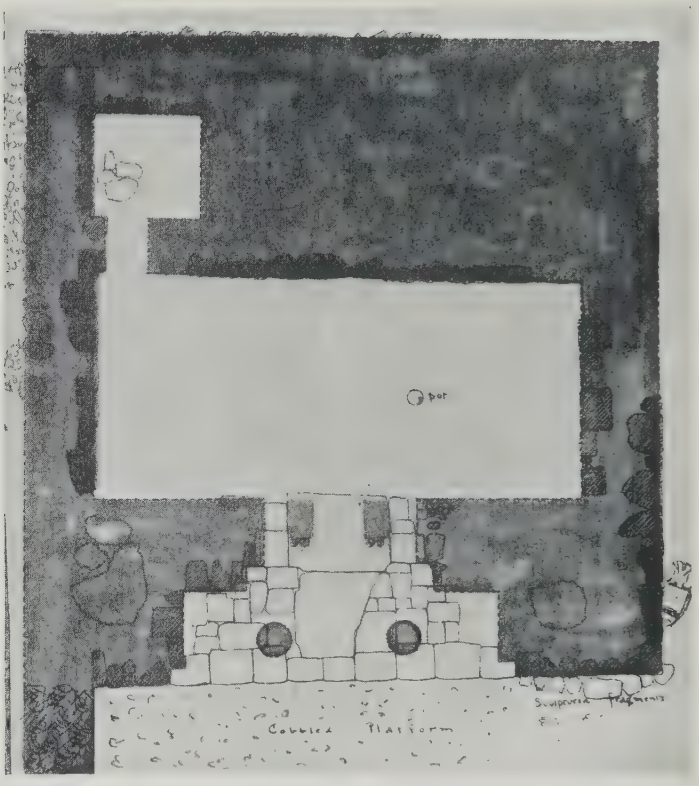

Fig. 23. CARCHEMISH.
Plan of a 'Khilani'.

(b) *Sakjegeuzi.*

Sakjegeuzi, the second Syrian site to be considered, need not detain us, since one part of its results—the later in date—has added no important novelty to the Zenjirli results of the same period; while the evidence adduced by the other part was forthcoming in greater abundance at Carchemish.

The experimental excavations carried out by Garstang, in 1908

and 1911, at Sakjegeuzi, some fifteen miles east of Zenjirli, have neither been resumed since nor been adequately published. But even so, their results serve to contribute to the Hittite case one important class of evidence of a kind which the Zenjirli publication lacks, that, namely, of stratified pottery. This

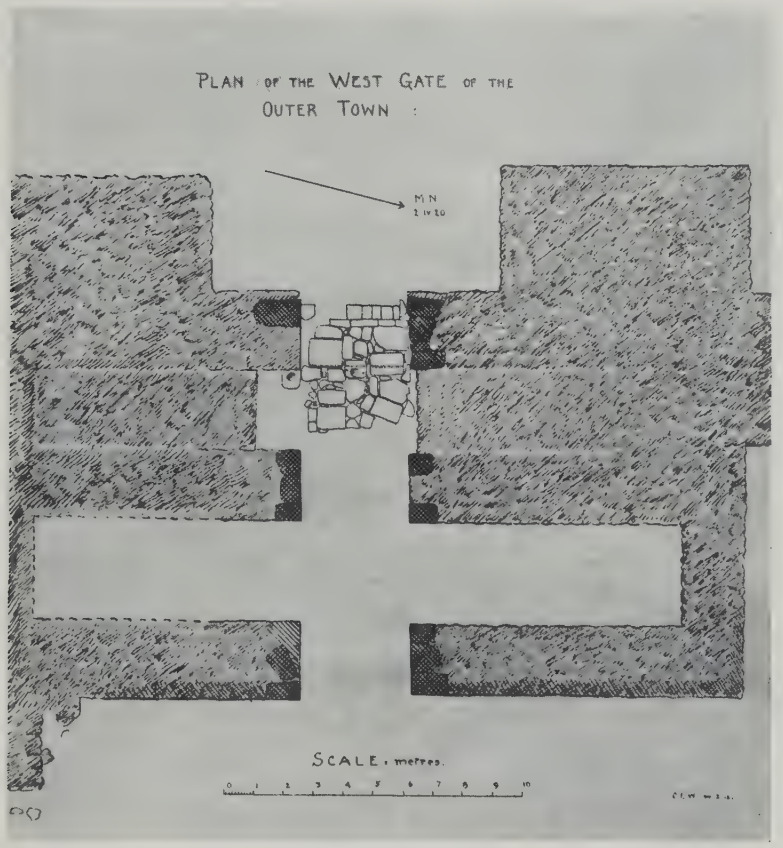

Fig. 24. CARCHEMISH.
A Hittite gate-plan.

evidence we are encouraged to apply to Zenjirli, seeing how short is the distance dividing the two sites and how identical on both were the other remains, architectural and plastic. At Sakjegeuzi there stood not a single fortified town, but a group of fortified residences, each on its own mound. The place may have served only for the occasional residence of princes or nobles of Zenjirli possessing estates in its well-watered plain. Besides

the ceramic evidence to be noticed presently, Garstang's excavations illustrated little more than the fact that, in the eighth century B.C., Hittites (by culture), using the Hittite gate-plan, the *Khilani* type of residence, and a characteristic late Hittite art strongly influenced by the neo-Assyrian, were occupying the place, having rebuilt structures of a preceding period, during which, for the first time, stone fortifications had been erected. No inscriptions of any kind came to light, and the ancient name of the settlement remains unknown.

The pottery, however, demonstrated that the place had been occupied at much earlier periods. Two distinct strata, overlying bedrock, yielded remains which, if not Neolithic, are Chalcolithic. Above these lay a thick bed of deposit containing painted wares antedating the stone fortifications, whose first construction Garstang, on grounds not fully set forth, attributed to the fourteenth century B.C. Whether he was justified in regarding as Hittite either these mean walls or any of the pottery and other remains that underlay the ninth–eighth century stratum, which alone he explored seriously, nothing (in default of contemporary sculptures or inscriptions) goes to prove. But since light is thrown on that question by a much larger body of evidence, ceramic and other, obtained subsequently at Carchemish, consideration of this had better precede further discussion.

LECTURE II

(c) *Carchemish.*

The great mounds at Jerabis or Jerablus, situated on the Baghdad Railway where it strikes and crosses the Euphrates, are, without doubt, those of Carchemish; and if absolute proof waits for the decipherment of the numerous inscriptions in Hittite characters already found, or for the discovery of other documents in intelligible scripts which name the place, the identification with Carchemish may safely be presumed.

Jerablus lies less than a hundred miles east of Zenjirli, the interval representing, in fact, the whole breadth of the northernmost tongue of Syria. A long and lofty mound, evidently the Acropolis, stretches north-eastward along the river's bank, and upon its extremities abuts a lofty girdle mound enclosing a large horseshoe-shaped area of about the same circumference as the whole site of Zenjirli. A second girdle-wall has been traced some distance outside the first; therefore the inner enclosure is presumed to have been a Royal Quarter, fenced from a Lower Town which was occupied by commoner folk. Excavations instituted for the British Museum in the seventies of the last century were resumed on a greater scale by the same Museum in 1911, carried on to 1914, and after the war continued for one season more. Their direction was entrusted first to myself, next to R. Campbell Thompson, and finally, and for much the longest term, to C. L. Woolley—all of us enjoying in turn the invaluable help of T. E. Lawrence. Our search was directed chiefly to the area which lies immediately below the landward face of the Acropolis, near its south-western extremity, because there a broad stairway, flanked with sculptured slabs, which had partly been opened out in 1879, indicated the existence of some palatial structure. Besides the clearance of the courts, the gates and the outlying chambers of a spacious approach to that stairway, or of a palace at its foot, there were explored also a second avenue of approach from a water-gate on the river; the quays downstream; an Assyrian palace which had been built at a late date on the upper level of the north-eastern extremity of the Acropolis; a section of the latter's south-western part (by deep trenching); the girdle-wall

and three gates of the Royal Quarter; the girdle-wall and some houses of the Lower Town; and several outlying cemeteries and isolated buildings. All this work, however, has not exhausted one-fifth of the great area which should be searched; and excavations will be resumed as soon as shall be possible under the local political and social conditions. These, since the War, have resulted in something like anarchy on the frontier between the French Mandate and the Turkish territory, within which the site just

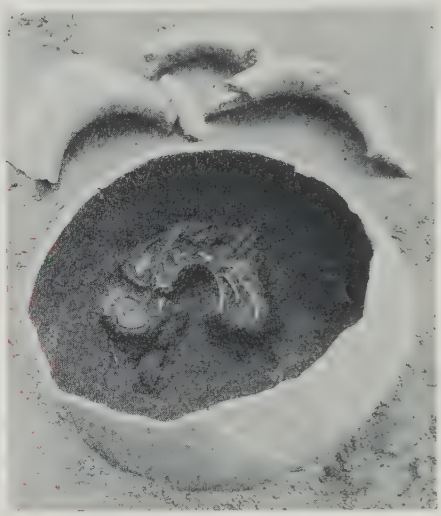

Fig. 25. CARCHEMISH.
Early pit-burial in an earthenware pot.

lies; and during the anarchic period much damage has been done to the exposed monuments, of which many have been broken up, and some parts have been abstracted and sold at Aleppo or elsewhere. Fortunately, at earlier stages, photographs of all monuments, in their state as originally found and re-erected, had been secured.

The antiquities of the city and of its neighbourhood on both banks of the river are distinguished sharply into two main groups, respectively antecedent and subsequent to an epoch of disaster to whose effects by fire and sack the strata in the Royal Quarter bear clear witness. Before and after that epoch such markedly different social apparatus, different art in great things and small, different customs of burial, and differing extent and character of buildings are illustrated by the remains, that violent resettlement of the city and its district by a new and foreign element of population is the most likely agency of change that

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can be presumed. At what period this resettlement took place shall be considered presently, when the characteristics of the local civilizations before and after it have been passed in review. The First Civilization appears not to have known iron, which came into use only in the opening period of the Second; and so far as

Fig. 26.
Bronze weapons from First Cist Grave period.

excavation has proceeded, nothing has been found belonging to the First Civilization which shows any characteristic feature of the Cappadocian Hittite culture, or any distinctively Hittite character at all.[1] For this reason, and also because the First Civilization (by

[1] Mr. C. L. Woolley, though he rates this civilization as 'Early Hittite' and 'Middle Hittite' (*Liverpool Annals*, vi. 'Hittite Burial Customs'), would probably not deny this proposition as I have stated it above. But he would deny that Cappadocian criteria are sufficient to determine what should be called Hittite and what not; i.e. regarding as Hittite all that was made by or pertained to Hatti, and believing Hatti to have been settled in North Syria from very early times, he would call merely '*Late* Hittite' what I regard as the *only* distinctively Hittite culture.

whatever name we qualify it) had long been at an end before the time of any 'King of the Hittites' known to the historic Hebrews, I do not propose here to deal at length with its remains. But they must not be ignored altogether if the distinction of the Second or Hittite Civilization is to be appreciated, and if any approximate date is to be found for its introduction.

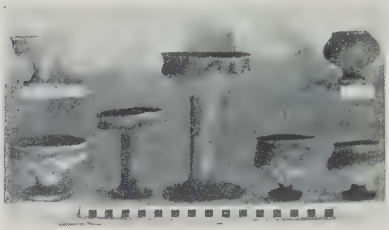

Fig. 27. CARCHEMISH.
Pottery of First Cist Grave period.

Fig. 28. CARCHEMISH.
Orthostats of South Gateway.

i. *The First Civilization.*

Remains of the First Civilization have occurred up to date mainly on the Acropolis, which, indeed, is the only part of the site where stratified evidence of all periods was examined from the top to the bottom of the human deposit. Here, on the bed-rock of a low knoll which forms the hidden core of the great mound, were laid bare the foundations of rudely built rectangular huts of stone with floors of rammed earth, near, or even under, which occurred circular pit-graves (Fig. 25) containing contracted skeletons. With these lay bone and stone implements, and fragments of copper, showing that the culture was Chalcolithic. There were also sherds of hand-made wares, some of dull brown-black or dark grey body-colour, unslipped but generally polished, and lacking pigment or other decoration; and some of pink clay washed with buff, on which geometric patterns had been painted in brown-black and red tints, the resultant appearance being generally similar to that offered by early painted wares of Susa in Elam and of Sumerian Babylonia. More of this pottery was found about a mile from the city walls within circular foundations, which Woolley believed to represent kilns, in which it had been made.

Above the stratum containing the huts lay a thick bed of earth, in which (as exposed in a single broad cutting) were found no huts or

floors, but only cist-graves built and roofed with rough slabs. Each of these graves held one or more skeletons extended on the right side, the bones being sometimes partially stained red.[1] Bronze implements and weapons, among which 'toggle'-pins and 'poker' spear-heads were the most distinctive types (Fig. 26), and also hand-made vases in great profusion lay with the dead. The ware was of pink clay, unslipped, and either plain and polished, or buff-washed. If red pigment was laid on, it was in plain rings, loops, zigzags, or maeanders. One singular vase-form of many sizes—a long-stemmed handleless cup or bowl, which often shows a plain rolled moulding round the rim—outnumbered all other forms (Fig. 27), and caused us to distinguish these graves as 'champagne' cists. The nearest parallel to that form known to me has occurred in Sumerian graves, probably of the latter part of the Third and first part of the Second Millennium, at Kish, in Lower Mesopotamia. In other 'champagne' cists, found lower down the Euphrates on both banks, but within the Carchemish district, cylinder-seals engraved in late Sumerian styles have been found. Some of these, acquired by purchase from native diggers, are now in the Ashmolean Museum. One at least is made of shell-core which must have come from the Persian Gulf; while numerous parts of necklaces and of other ornaments, found in the same cists,

Fig. 29. CARCHEMISH.
Typical vase of the Cremation period.

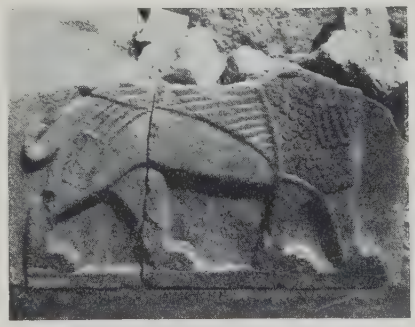

Fig. 30. CARCHEMISH.
Early style from the Water Gate.

[1] The colour on the bones was patchy and not very strong; and no unused ochre was found in the cists. Red grave-clothes would account for the appearances. In any case it would not be safe yet to say that these burials fall into the Red-ochre class, familiar in east Europe and the Kuban district.

were also made from shells which are to be traced to the same southern source.

Finally, above these cists and under wall-footings in the Royal Quarter, lay sherds of unpainted wheel-made ware. In several cemeteries also in the district, which were dug by natives, numerous complete burials, abundantly furnished with vases of this same ware, were found. They lay in built cists like the 'champagne' type, but of smaller size. Bronze implements and weapons show more developed manufacture than in the first cists; the vases are more various in form, and more exactly shaped and better potted, and they have been improved considerably in respect of rims, bases, and feet. While this ware shows no painted decoration, the upper parts of bowls are often contrasted in colour with the lower parts by a studied effect of unequal firing; and to a great proportion of all sorts of vases has been applied an elaborate process of spiral burnishing, begun from the base. Once more Kish offers parallels from tombs of a later age than those above mentioned, in which occurred both parti-coloured bowls of exactly the Carchemish type, and also spirally burnished vessels. Cylinder-seals, showing designs of Late Sumerian and Early Babylonian types, accompanied some of these burials. In view of the great number of these graves and wide range of the morphological development illustrated by their furniture, the 'Later Cist-Grave Period' must be presumed to have been long-lasting—to have covered, indeed, many centuries of an Age of Bronze. The concluding century of this Age, judged by the latest weapon-forms—the safest field of comparison in south-western Asia where other criteria are not yet well established—,was not far from the last in the Second Millennium.

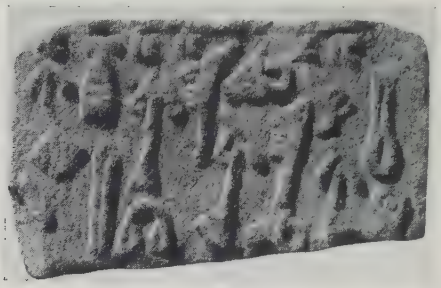

Fig. 31. CARCHEMISH.
Relief inscription of early style.

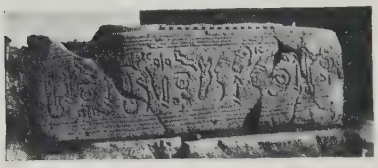

Fig. 32. CARCHEMISH.
Incised inscription of early style.

Before passing on to the Second Civilization I lay stress on

these general points—that the First Civilization seems to have belonged, from its beginning to its end, to a Mesopotamian cycle of culture; that, so far as the Jerablus site has yet been searched, no sculptures or inscriptions of that period have come to light, the monumental history of Carchemish not having begun, apparently, before the Syrian Iron Age; finally, that inhumation was in exclusive use and no process of cremation was practised.

ii. *The Second Civilization.*

The First Civilization, as has been said, ended in a cataclysm, whose date and duration have to be determined. When this was over, Carchemish had passed into the hands of men who, in all probability, were of foreign race. Neither the city, however, nor still less its district, was exclusively inhabited by these men; for after some centuries the burial custom of inhumation and some survivals of styles proper to the First Civilization reappeared (as the examination of sixth-century graves has proved). Probably the newcomers had been no more than a conquering minority, under whose rule an older population remained on the soil. In any case, when the former had made good, all earlier buildings, such as they were, were razed, and upon them rose new, showing features that we regard as peculiar to Hittite architecture whether in Cappadocia or in Syria—e.g. walls bonded by 'tongues' of stone, and ground-courses of orthostatic slabs (Fig. 28), sometimes carved as dados; also the 'Khilani' type of palace and the Hattic type of gateway. The builders of these structures used wheel-made pots of a new ware decorated with geometric designs in black to brown pigment on a light yellow body-colour (Fig. 29). The vase-shapes were new to the locality and of types more familiar to us in other parts of the Near East at slightly later periods, e.g. in western Asia Minor during the earliest Hellenic Age.

Such vases were found in great number and variety in a large cemetery outside the city walls. In tombs of, probably, the tenth and ninth centuries, occurred many which resemble, as closely as do the terra-cotta idols found with them, types of the early Iron Age in Cyprus. Clearly Cyprus and Carchemish had come to be in intimate communication. But it is too soon yet to say at which end of the road those types of vase and idol were invented. Lastly, two important novelties made their appearance —the metal, Iron, and the burial method of cremation which was universal in the chief Carchemish cemetery.

(*a*) Only when the Second Civilization was well established—that is only after the lapse of at least a generation—were produced the earliest stone monuments, sculptured or inscribed, which thus far have been found on the site. The beginning of the monumental history of Carchemish, if judged by stylistic comparisons, fell later than the beginning of monumental production at Zenjirli. The most primitive sculptures on the former site compare better with the Citadel Gate dados on the latter than with those at its South Gate; provisionally they may be referred to a date round about 1050 B.C. The Carchemish sculptures in question are reliefs on dado-blocks found detached from the decorations of the Water-Gate, near the south-western foot of the Acropolis, and also of its approach from the great Stairway. The flatness and the abrupt return of their relieved planes are noticeable, recalling a characteristic of Early Hattic Cappadocian relief-work. Another analogy with the latter is offered by the treatment of lion-claws and exaggeration of the external articulation of animal forms (Fig. 30). But it is to be observed that not the Second but the First Cappadocian style is recalled, as by the earlier Zenjirli dados. In regard to both Carchemish and Zenjirli a negative observation is worth attention. Excavation, though prosecuted deeply and widely on both sites, has failed to reveal anything like first local efforts in sculpture. Nothing genuinely primitive—nothing suggesting the earliest tentative use of chisel or graver by unpractised hands—has come to light. Therefore, pending possible correction by further research, it may provisionally be concluded that on neither site was passed the infancy of its particular plastic art.

Fig. 33. ZENJIRLI.
Chariot slab from Citadel Gate Series.
From A. S. iii, pl. 39.

Since, as it happens, none of the extant blocks of this Water-Gate class shows an inscription as well as sculpture, it is not possible to fix the period at which the Hittite script came into use at Carchemish. But some fragments of relieved inscrip-

tions, showing characters which, judged by their laborious elaboration and artless arrangement in the field, should be early script-forms, did come to light (Fig. 31); and, furthermore, the next (second) class of sculpture, about to be described, is often associated with inscriptions which, in respect of the rendering and arrangement of relieved characters, are far from primitive efforts and show obvious development. Therefore it may provisionally be assumed that the earlier fragments in question give us examples of the stage in which the Hittite script characters were when they made their first appearance at Carchemish and, perhaps, in any part of North Syria: but that this stage was not the earliest in their development. The case of the inscriptions is parallel to that of the sculptures. Comparatively early as the characters in Fig. 31 may look, they are not really primitive; and it is to be expected that somewhere some day will yet be found examples of more than one stage which preceded this particular expression of the script. No Hittite text yet found in Cappadocia or other parts of Asia Minor illustrates such a stage.

Fig. 34. CARCHEMISH.
Chariot slab from north-east wall of Staircase Court.

That the characters of the relieved script were reduced at some date, by the inventiveness of some Hittite society, to incised linear forms has long been known, chiefly from the occurrence of texts so engraved in south-eastern Asia Minor between the southern bend of the Halys valley and the Taurus range. All these, however, as well as a few found south of the Taurus, but not at Carchemish, exemplify a very fully developed, if not even a degraded, stage of that script. It is only at Carchemish that examples have come to light of earlier stages in the process of reducing pictographic forms, e. g. texts showing within the

linear outlines (Fig. 32) various detail afterwards suppressed, and also, in some instances, an intermediate stage of sunk relief.

Fig. 35. CARCHEMISH.
Chimaera-sphinx from south wall of Staircase Court (cp. fig. 9).

Fig. 36. CARCHEMISH.
Portrait head.

Was Carchemish, then, the original home of the reduced Hittite script? In view both of its position on a principal crossing of the Euphrates and of its old-established commercial importance, it was a likely enough place for the invention and early development of a simplified system suited to correspondence.[1] If Carchemish was the author of this, it can hardly have been invented before the tenth century, and its subsequent spread into Asia Minor must be brought down to the ninth at earliest. I propose, accordingly, that the tenth century be regarded provisionally as the upper limit of all known linear texts, whether of Syria or of Asia Minor.

(*b*) Returning to sculptures, we note, on the great Stairway and along both flanking walls of the Court which gives immediate access to it, dado-slabs so analogous, in subject or style or both, to those of the Citadel Gate at Zenjirli that there can be no doubt of their approximate synchronism with the latter. It is only necessary to bring the chariot-relief from that series at

[1] At Asshur some actual examples of Hittite letters have come to light in the form of leaden rolls, ascribed by Andrae, their discoverer, to the late eighth, or the early part of the seventh, century.

Zenjirli into juxtaposition with one of several reliefs from the north-east wall of the Carchemish Stairway Court (Figs. 33, 34) to demonstrate contemporaneity. Several slabs on the other wall (e. g. that showing a chimaera-sphinx) (Fig. 35) would equally prove it. If the Carchemish reliefs in question exhibit greater technical mastery over the sculptor's material, executive superiority was only to be expected of the more metropolitan society.

Fig. 37. CARCHEMISH.
Relief at the foot of the Great Staircase.

Certain features of the dados of the Stairway Court, which find parallels in the Citadel Gate reliefs of Zenjirli, are remarkable. Men, whose dress includes distinctive Hittite elements, wear full face-hair. Their profile-type is less Cappadocian than in the corresponding series at Zenjirli; but whether such had been the prevailing type at Carchemish from the first cannot yet be determined owing to the lack of any but mutilated human figures in the earlier Water-Gate reliefs. But it should be observed that it was in debris among which those reliefs were found, that the fragment of a free statue in dolerite, shown in Fig. 36, came to light. Its facial type, which approximates to that of the earlier Zenjirli profiles, suggests portraiture so strongly that it well may represent an actual member of the foreign race which introduced the Second Civilization. If so, the bearded men of the Staircase Court dados (Fig. 37) would be the result of a subsequent, perhaps Aramaean, infusion, such as I suggested overran Zenjirli and there introduced the bearded types seen in the Citadel Gate reliefs (p. 15). Incidentally it is worth remark that the mere occurrence of such a head as that in

Fig. 38. CARCHEMISH.
Slab showing South Mesopotamian influence; south wall of Staircase Court.

Fig. 39. CARCHEMISH.
Head of Second Zenjirli style.

Fig. 40. CARCHEMISH.
Hadad statue on lion-base (cp. fig. 12).

Fig. 41. CARCHEMISH.
Seated goddess from the Outer Court.

Fig. 36 distinguishes the early art of Carchemish as emphatically as possible from any neo-Assyrian art known to us. Assyrian sculptors never portrayed a particular human face thus realistically and faithfully.

Another noteworthy feature is a strong Mesopotamian influence manifested in this second or tenth-century period of Carchemish sculpture. It is prominent in the dados on the south-western wall of the Court, where it has affected both the choice and the treatment of subjects. Some of these are obviously reminiscent of the Gilgamesh Epic (Fig. 38), while others, like the covered cart attacked by a lion, are familiar Mesopotamian themes. It is not Assyrian influence, however, that has been at work on this Syrian sculpture, but Babylonian.

Fig. 42. CARCHEMISH.
Hooded priestesses from the Outer Court.

(*c*) I make a third class with the dados of another Court, the outermost so far excavated—a long series lining its south-western wall; also with certain scattered reliefs comparable with these dados on stylistic grounds; and lastly with statues and fragments of statues which display features closely analogous to such sculptures at Zenjirli as should be dated, on grounds stated in my first lecture, a little later than the Citadel Gate dados.

This class may represent the work of several generations of artists—probably at least of three—and of nearly the whole ninth century. If a criterion of sequence be applied, which I used for the art of Zenjirli and believe equally sound for that of Carchemish, viz. the measure in which typically Hittite features of dress and hair-fashion persisted, the extant examples of this class may be distinguished into earlier and later, and distributed over all the period. Judged by that criterion, a limestone head with simply rendered spiraliform locks, and facial type so nearly identical with that of the first Hadad statue at Zenjirli that it must be contemporary, should be among the earliest (Fig. 39). So, too, should the limestone bearded statue (doubtless the god Hadad again) which sits enthroned on a base supported by lions held in leash by an eagle-headed demon (Fig. 40). This statue cannot

be far removed in date from the first Hadad at Zenjirli, though its details are not identical and it shows more developed execution.

The seated goddess represented in the Outer Court, where the next members of this class are to be noticed, proves the old Hattic tradition to be still strong (Fig. 41); for she recalls a Cappadocian type as old as the Euyuk façade. Among the figures which follow her in the series, the mitred and cloaked women (Fig. 42) also conform generally to a Hattic tradition, though they do not wear the characteristic shoe. The remaining *moschophori* (most of them carry, in fact, goats) approach very closely in their hair-fashion, dress, and general proportions to figures on the festival slabs to be noticed below (Fig. 43); but it is in Egypt, not in Cappadocia, that their prototypes are to be sought. From the eleventh century to the middle of the ninth, Assyria left the field clear for the northward penetration of southern influences, and one result in the later part of that period was Hittite adoption of the Egyptian 'moschophoros' type.

Fig. 43. CARCHEMISH.
'Moschophori' from Outer Court.

Last in the class I rank various dado-slabs (two were found in place in the recess between the 'King's Gate' tower and the beginning of the sculptured wall of the Outer Court, but cut down as though left hidden under some later reconstruction) which show elongated attenuated figures, wearing sometimes the Hittite tunic (but never the Hittite shoe) and hair not in pigtail, but bunched on the nape, chignon-wise (Fig. 44). These slabs, on most of which scenes of festival are represented, prove that a distinct local style was being evolved out of, and already displacing, the Hattic tradition.

(*d*) The final development of this local style, Hittite but no longer Hattic, to its full florescence is illustrated by the most interesting of all Carchemish dados, those on the southern tower of the 'King's Gate' (Fig. 45). Since here, for the first time, is evident an influence of neo-Assyrian art—the art which reached

its zenith under Ashurnasirpal and Shalmaneser III—the date of these sculptures cannot well be earlier than the latter half of the ninth century. The fleshy smooth-faced esquires or 'officers', who defile on the side wall to meet the group on the main façade, might be paralleled from Assyrian reliefs of any reign between Shalmaneser's and Sargon's (last quarter of the eighth century). Indeed it is a sculpture of Sargon's time that offers closest analogy to the most singular figure in the Carchemish series—the tall man who follows the leader of the main group, grasping him by the wrist in the well-known manner of the 'psychopomp', or introducer of the soul to a god. Such a figure is familiar in Babylonian seal-designs from the last part of the First Dynasty period onwards.

Fig. 44. CARCHEMISH.
Festival scene from Outer Court.
Attenuated style.

On the explanation of that figure depends the interpretation of a scene which, in all else, departs from any other known in Mesopotamia or the Hittite area.[1] He exhibits no distinctively Hittite characteristic, and his elaborately crimped and curled hair (or wig?) differentiates him not only from all known Hittite men, but also from any other figure in this scene. Equally singular is his dress; for no one else wears a long overmantle without belt. Again this figure, which is distinguished by greater scale, alone carries a sceptre or mace. It lacks all divine attributes, but is, doubtless, intended to be regal, and to hold some protective, if not parental, relation to the preceding smaller figure, and probably also to the figures following. I surmised at one time (judging largely by hair-fashion) that it might be intended for an Assyrian; but I have abandoned that idea. It is not conceivable that an Assyrian King would have suffered himself to be represented at Carchemish otherwise than he would have represented himself at Nineveh; and hardly more likely that any of his great officers would have appeared there in other than strictly Assyrian guise. Though the hair (or wig) comes nearer to Assyrian fashion than to any other, the spiral curls arranged

[1] Pottier (*Syria*, i, p. 274) compared a late Assyro-Babylonian relief, but I fail to recognize any essential analogy between these two *genre* scenes.

concentrically are not Assyrian, nor is the dress, nor is the carriage of the sceptre head downwards. Finally, were an Assyrian the chief figure, we might be sure that any associated inscription would have been in cuneiform, as on the stela of Asarhaddon at Zenjirli. I conclude, therefore, that this figure is meant to represent a Hittite, and if so, in all probability, the actual local King. The smaller figure, whose wrist he holds, will then be his eldest son. This figure is repeated in the speaker of the main

Fig. 45. CARCHEMISH.
The façade of the 'King's Gate' Tower.

inscription, which, accordingly, should set forth a declaration or address by the King's son.

The figures on the next dado-block to the right and on the next again should represent the rest of the royal family, including the queen with her youngest child in her arms. They cannot represent servitors, as Pottier guessed.[1] Not only do they carry and play with toys, such as knuckle-bones and whipping-tops, but the last figure in the upper register is a baby girl, nude, and learning to walk with the help of a support. Such are my interpretations pending decipherment of the Hittite labels which appear by the heads of the figures.

The long file, which approaches from the left (Fig. 46), is made up

[1] *Syria*, i, p. 273. Pottier had never seen the original stones, and depended on photographs.

of sculptures of two different dates; for the ten men-at-arms who bring up the rear are not only larger in scale than the seven leaders, but carved in another style, which is that of a previous (the second) plastic class. Probably these slabs survive from the decoration of an earlier tower which was remodelled in a later reign.[1] We need not be surprised, therefore, at the presence of plaited pigtails combined with absence of Hittite shoes, or at

Fig. 46. CARCHEMISH.
'King's Gate' Tower. Esquires and men-at-arms.
Base of Hadad statue (see fig. 40).

spears carried as Assyrians are not represented carrying them. These features are proper to that earlier class. As for the figure preceding the men-at-arms, who marches hindmost of the seven leaders and plainly is intended for the Captain of the following Host, it is conceived in the style of the royal figures, but looks to be of hasty workmanship inferior to that of all the figures ahead. The next six of these, all sword-girt and similar in every stylistic respect to the Royal group (being like it reminiscent of neo-Assyrian work), seem intended for esquires. The sixth, fifth, and fourth are, respectively, bow-bearer, spear-bearer, and shield-bearer; the second is an arrow-bearer, and the third should be a mace-bearer; while the leader, raised on a higher plane than the rest, may be the chief esquire bearing, as insignia of office,

[1] Compare above, p. 36, for a confirmatory indication that this Gateway has suffered reconstruction.

a spear and a whip. If these figures are, indeed, esquires, bringing arms for a master's use and followed by a captain and file of men-at-arms, the whole scene may be conjectured to represent a ceremonial moment in the life of an heir-apparent—e. g. that of his attainment of puberty and the age to bear arms—when his father presented him to the chief esquires and the army.

Though Assyrian influence has acted upon these sculptures, they illustrate none the less a distinctive local Syrian style. It is of surprisingly high quality as Hittite art goes. The inspiration suggests the West rather than the East, and leaves us wondering what (if any) relations the school responsible may have had with the Mediterranean world. Had anything come down to it from the late Aegean culture? and did it repay its debt to the early Ionian?

No later dado reliefs have come to light at Carchemish; but the site has not yet been explored sufficiently for it to be said safely that no more palatial decoration was executed there after that of the King's Gate. But it is not unlikely to be proved some day that, at Carchemish (as, indeed, also at Zenjirli), the increase of Assyrian pressure upon North Syria, which we know to have taken effect in the last quarter of the eighth century, arrested the development of local plastic art. Though Carchemish was not occupied by an Assyrian governor or garrison till after the revolt of its king, Pisiris, against Sargon, late in that century, nothing better than a shadow of independence can have remained to it after the operations of Tiglath Pileser III about 740. If so, the King's Gate reliefs may be not only the best work of the local art of Carchemish, but also its last fine work on any considerable scale. The city was yet to enjoy another century of life before the end came at the hands of Necho or Nebuchadnezzar in the last years of the seventh century; but little of any sort of production has been found to fill that period. Towards its close, if we may judge by the contents of houses excavated in the Lower Town, Egyptian or Egypto-Phoenician influences became the strongest external agents upon such local culture as survived. In the succeeding century (as grave-furniture at Devé Huyuk bears witness) this was finally to lose almost all distinctively Hittite character.

Whether the local use of Hittite script of any sort long survived the eighth century is doubtful. On Hittite amulets and seals, especially those of the so-called 'bulla' class, one finds, towards the end of that century, that script-legends, when present, begin to degenerate into garbled meaningless scratches. There-

fore, till better evidence comes to hand, it must be assumed that even the latest incised texts couched in the most linear reduction of the characters—such texts as accompany some incised sculptures of Carchemish and its neighbourhood—are to be dated not much later than 700 B.C., and that the use of the Hittite script, whether relieved or incised, had a life at Carchemish of about four centuries. The relieved script reached its zenith of excellence, in respect of arrangement and detailed expression of the pictographic characters, contemporaneously with the King's Gate style of sculpture—that is, probably, in the first part of the eighth century—and can hardly be supposed to have gone out of use for some generations after that date. Morphological indications of subsequent decline from that zenith may be recognized in the crowding and the minuscule scale of the characters, which retain from the best period some schematic arrangement but not good spacing. Such appear on numerous detached monuments at Carchemish, and on others in Syria (e. g. on the Hamah stones and the Marash lion) and in southern Asia Minor (e. g. at Ivriz). To such texts generally a later date in the eighth century may provisionally be assigned; but it would be unsafe to put 700 B.C. as their absolute lower limit. Probably simultaneous use of both relieved and incised Hittite characters continued into the seventh century, both in Syria and in south-eastern Asia Minor, the linear system being used if expeditious engraving was desired, while the more elaborate system was still commanded occasionally if piety or conservatism or pride preferred an expensive monument.[1]

Other Sites

Such, in outline, is the evidence offered to-day by the three seats of Syrian Hittite Kings which have, in part at any rate, been excavated scientifically. There remain many other sites not excavated, but marked for Hittite by their flat-topped citadels or encircling wall-mounds or both; and some similarly certified by the occurrence of Hittite sculptured or inscribed monuments—fruits

[1] It should be observed here that, though an incised inscription is always to be dated late (i. e. after 1000 B.C.), the converse proposition, that a relieved inscription is always to be dated relatively early, is not true. The two scripts certainly long continued in use side by side: for example, a stela found in the Carchemish cemetery, inscribed with a linear text, shows a headless draped relief, obviously of the same style and period as the King's Gate figures with which is associated the longest and finest of relieved texts.

of unscientific digging by native hands. Nor is the area in which Hittite civilization prevailed after 1000 B.C. confined to Syria and the opposite bank of the Euphrates. That civilization was shared by more than one trans-Tauric principality, which may or may not have acquired it, wholly or in part, by intercourse with Syria. On a strict interpretation of the Hebrew references to 'Kings of the Hittites' those principalities do not come into the scope of these lectures; for O.T. has distinct names for the South Cappadocian states, Tubal, Meshech (Assyrian, Tabal and Muski), and, perhaps, also Musri.[1] But their culture is connected too intimately, in respect of parentage and time, with that of the Syrian Hittites, and has too significant a bearing on Syrian Hittite problems, for all notice of them to be omitted here. Accordingly, after a glance at the other chief Hittite sites of Syria and Mesopotamia, I propose to deal briefly with the South Cappadocian monuments.

Concerning Hamah, anciently Hamath, capital of the southernmost of the Hittite principalities, something was said in my first lecture. The famous blocks bearing Hittite relief-inscriptions, which, first seen by Burckhardt in 1812 in a wall in the market, revealed to the modern world the existence of a Hittite script, are believed to have been dug out of the great flat-topped mound on which the ruins of the medieval castle of Hamah now stand. Beyond doubt this is an important Hittite site. In the absence of associated sculptures (and indeed of other local Hittite antiquities), the period of those inscriptions can only be guessed by epigraphic comparison with Carchemish stones. Judged by this criterion their script-characters, being crowded and cramped, indicate decline from the best period, and some date in the latter half of the eighth century B.C. The same verdict must be passed on the inscription found on a neighbouring up-river site near Restan.

The great citadel-mound which is crowned by the Ayyubite castle of Aleppo is probably Hittite; but the three or four Hittite monuments, which have been found built either into the castle or into other structures—the most notable being a relieved inscription encrusted in a mosque-wall near the Antioch Gate—, are all of uncertain provenance, like most of the numerous seals and other small objects, undoubtedly Hittite, which from time to

[1] If in II Kings vii. 6 'Musri' be interpreted (as probably it should be) to mean not Egypt, but a region in the north, known to Assyria under that name.

time are offered for sale in the Aleppine market. The other chief mound of Cyrrhestica, Tell Rfad, the ancient Arpad, has not yielded, so far as I am aware, anything Hittite; but there can be little doubt that it, too, was the seat of a Hittite principality, which shared the basin of the Kowaik with Halman (Aleppo). A little farther to north and east a chain of mounds, from several of which small Hittite objects have been procured, marks the course of the Sajur river from Tell Dulukh, above Aintab, to its outfall in the Euphrates. Many Hittite things have been noted in the last-named town, but most, or all, seem to have been imported from the largest of the Sajur valley mounds, viz. Tell Bashr, whose citadel, now crowned with Frankish ruins, is higher than that of Carchemish, while the circuit of its town walls below measures not much less than that of the Royal Quarter on the latter site. The seals, amulets, &c., which, in 1908, I procured in abundance from the local peasantry, leave no doubt of the Hittite character of Tell Bashr. It is, perhaps, the most promising of all unexcavated Hittite sites in Syria.

Opposite the Sajur mouth, and therefore within Mesopotamia, lies Tell Akhmar, where a low and narrow citadel mound rises above a circular town, whose area is quite as large as that of the Royal Quarter of Carchemish. Here, by chance digging, more than a dozen monuments have been brought to light by natives. These illustrate better than those of any Syrian site the fate of an originally Hittite civilization when brought under dominant Assyrian influence in the ninth century B.C. To the Hittite phase belongs, among other monuments, a great stela (broken into several pieces)[1] which shows a god standing on a bull above several registers of relieved Hittite script-characters. Since the epigraphic style suggests a somewhat earlier period than has been ascribed to the Hamath stones, and the relief above is in the manner of the second Carchemish style of sculpture, the date of this monument should fall in the tenth century. To the Assyrian period belong two winged gate-lions inscribed in cuneiform with long texts of (probably) Shalmaneser III; also some small reliefs.[2] If the proposed identification of this Euphratean site with Til-Barsip, which Shalmaneser occupied as a ferry-head and renamed, be sound, its tenth-century princes were not Hattic but Semitic and in all probability Aramaean. Accordingly its Hittite remains confirm the inference (already

[1] *Liverpool Ann. Arch.*, ii, pls. 38, 39. [2] *Ibid.*, pls. 36, 4; 37; 40.

suggested by Zenjirli and to some extent by Carchemish) that some 'Kings of the Hittites' were of Semitic race, but that the culture, which the Aramaean wave adopted and propagated when it washed over the Euphrates, was not the less Hittite.

The northernmost belt of Syria is sprinkled with other mounds which probably are Hittite ; but, except in the near neighbourhood of Zenjirli and at Sakjegeuzi, none has been tested. Specially prolific of chance Hittite finds has long been the district of Marash. The precise spots at which most of its monuments have been dug out of the ground are not known ; but so long ago as 1891, when I spent many days in and near Marash, I heard that their chief source lay near the great spring which wells out just above the town. Out of nearly a score of monuments, found at one time or another at or near Marash, the great majority, including the well-known inscribed lion, which used to stand on the medieval castle, are demonstrably of the Syrian Hittite age ; but certain slabs, which are possibly grave-stones of a class represented also by stelae found near both Zenjirli and Sakjegeuzi, have been claimed as Hattic and more ancient. These show representations of ceremonial feasting, and in some instances bear traces of relieved script-characters. Professor Meyer,[1] who calls such a scene of feasting 'Totenmahl', appears to regard these slabs as of the second millennium B. C. ; and the identity of their scheme with that of some North Cappadocian reliefs (e. g. at Yasili Kaya and at Yarreh) tempts one to agree with him and to accept them for witnesses to some Cappadocian epoch in the history of Marash, which was no unlikely place for Hattic occupation in the Hittite imperial age, situated as it is just below the mouths of the chief passes through the Eastern Taurus.

On the other hand, however, not only does the occurrence of similar 'tombstones' near Zenjirli and Sakjegeuzi, whose monumental history, so far as I can see, has left no sign of nearly so early a beginning, tell against Meyer's view, but so, still more, does the appearance of virtually the same feast-scheme on Carchemish wall-reliefs, which have ceased to represent figures with any distinctively Hittite fashions of dress or hair, and therefore should be relegated to no earlier date than the late tenth (if not the ninth) century. No doubt this traditional scheme had a long life—such longevity as religious conservatism has often conferred on ancient motives of artistic expression ; but, on the whole, I fail to recognize in any of those Syrian 'Totenmahl' slabs exceptions

[1] *Reich u. Kultur*, p. 43.

to the obviously post-Hattic date of all other Hittite monuments found at Marash.

To complete the survey of later Hittite civilization, we shall pass the Taurus northward to the districts which extend from its foothills to the Tokhma river and the southerly elbow of the Halys. Three main passes pierce those mountains, starting from points near Marash, and debouching in districts containing Hittite monuments. Nevertheless it should not be assumed, out of hand, that these districts owed their Hittite culture solely or mainly to influences of the south. For, beyond them, monuments of the same class are found northwards as far as the Halys, and westwards throughout Lycaonia, the latter district having no southward communication except by passes debouching in the Cilician plain, which was not a Hittite land at any period, so far as our present evidence goes.

The easternmost of the trans-Tauric districts in question, classical Melitene, and earlier Assyrian Khanigalbat—a triangular area which is contained by the Taurus and the Tokhma River, converging on the Euphrates, and by a base of rough hill country[1] —is certified Hittite by the evidence of dado-blocks dug by natives out of a citadel mound called Arslan (Lion) Tepé at Ordasu. This mound, which lies some miles east of modern Malatia and nearer the Euphrates, is, no doubt, the site of the early capital, Milid. The reliefs (now at Constantinople) present a somewhat more Cappadocian art than do any Syrian sculptures: and three of them are accompanied by relieved Hittite characters, not divided into registers or schematically arranged, but while laborious in form, more developed than appear in any North Cappadocian text (Fig. 47). At the same time we note that some figures are bearded and some wear their hair dressed on the nape, chignon-wise, and not in the Hattic pigtail. While in other details the human figures do show Hattic features, all the animal forms are similar to those shown on the Citadel dados at Zenjirli, and in the second Carchemish class of sculpture. It should be observed further that chariot scenes recall, not North Cappadocian subjects, of which, as known to date, the horse is never a feature, but Syrian (see Figs. 33, 34).

[1] We have no means of precisely delimiting Melitene on the west at any epoch. It may have included all that rough hill country and ended only at the main ridge of Anti-Taurus (Bim Bogha Dagh), thus including the main Tokhma valley up to Gurun (Gauraina).

The next group of Hittite monuments lies beyond the rough hill country west of the Melitenian plain, and along the line of a north–south track, which prolongs towards Cappadocia, under the eastern slope of the main anti-Taurus range, the most direct of the passes from Marash. Here, at intervals, from near Albistan, under the Taurus, to Derendeh and Gurun on the Tokhma river, monuments occur. Four show linear inscriptions, the longest (at Palanga) being cut on the skirt of a draped statue, which, though not to be dated so late as the sixth century B. C. (as has been proposed), is probably not earlier than the eighth. A pair of very rudely carved gate-lions might be of any Hittite period; but a stone with bull-relief near Derendeh, and a small obelisk with relieved inscription, arranged schematically in registers on all four faces of the monument, found at Izgin near Albistan, should be not later than the ninth century. This series of monuments ends with the two linear rock-inscriptions of Gurun. Since nothing Hittite has been found beyond the Tokhma river, there is no ground whatever for supposing that the Hittite route continued due northwards, i.e. that it was any Hattic avenue from North Cappadocia to Syria. If it had any prolongation, it turned north-westwards up the Tokhma valley and ran across the north of the anti-Taurus system to the Mazaka district, of which more anon.

Fig. 47. MALATIA (Arslan Tepé). Stag hunt.

West again of that second group of monuments lies the anti-Taurus system—a broad belt of two lofty ridges bent west of south and divided by a deep double valley. In one of the latter's branches lay the holy city, Comana, and perhaps, in the other, the equally holy Arinna of Hattic imperial time. This region, which at that epoch was probably Kissuwadna, seems to have become, in the post-Hattic age, the Tubal of O.T. and the Tabal of neo-Assyrian records. It has yielded no evidence of post-Hattic civilization, except on or near a main track which crosses it diagonally, connecting it with Mazaka and Marash by the westernmost and

easiest of the three Tauric passes which converge on the latter town. Near that track have been found two monuments bearing linear Hittite inscriptions; but the district contains an older Hittite monument, the rock-relief of Ferakdin, which should be of Hattic imperial date, to judge by its artistic style and the forms of the script-characters accompanying its figures. If (as is possible) Ferakdin be the site of Arinna, more Hattic evidence may be expected from it; but this will be of so early a date and in such geographical isolation from the rest of the Hattic world, that it will have no bearing on the subject of these lectures.

Fig. 48. IVRIZ.
God and king.

Finally, we pass out of anti-Taurus into the more open tract of south-central Asia Minor, which lies between the Halys and the Taurus. Here, as one would expect, relics of early civilization are scattered more widely and in greater profusion. Three districts especially show Hittite monuments. They are (1) that of Mazaka (modern Kaisariyeh), in which Hittite monuments occur round a considerable periphery, touching on the north the Halys, and on the south the last foot-hills of the isolated peak of Argaeus; (2) that of Tyana (modern Kizli Hissar) situated in the angle which the Lycaonian plain occupies between Taurus and the first swell of anti-Taurus; (3) the middle Lycaonian plain, where rise isolated volcanic hills, bounding its western or Iconian basin. Since, however, no strong geographical barriers separate the three districts, and insignificant intervals divide the outliers of one sub-group of monuments from those of another, I shall consider all together, as memorials probably of one common society, if not of one polity.

The Mazakan (or Argaean) sub-group consists, with the single exception of the Yamula eagle on the right bank of the Halys, of linear inscriptions in a fully reduced character cut on rock-faces or on stelae. All, it is safe to guess, are post-Hattic, and not earlier than the tenth century B.C. These Mazakan monu-

ments are linked by a broken stela, similarly inscribed, which is (or was) laid in a church floor at Andaval, to the better preserved and similarly inscribed stela of Bor. This, which undoubtedly hails from Tyana itself, shows a royal figure wearing hair dressed in curled chignon and an elaborately embroidered and fringed dress. It betrays south Semitic influence, and cannot, on comparison with closely analogous Hittite sculptures of Syria, be ascribed to an earlier century than the eighth. Of the remaining members of the Tyanean sub-group, the Bulgar Maden rock-inscription belongs to the same category as the Mazakan linear texts; while the two rock-reliefs at Ivriz (one is the best known of all Hittite monuments, Fig. 48) are certified, by the style of the smaller figure on each, to be approximately contemporary with the Bor stela, but earlier rather than younger. Relieved inscriptions accompanying the sculptures illustrate those cramped and crowded character-forms which the pictographs assumed in Syria after the best period, but coincidently with the full development of the linear system. The chief figure of the scene exemplifies religious conservatism in representation. Though himself bearded and approached by a bearded worshipper in Semitic dress, the god still wears the traditional Hattic garb. The date of both the Ivriz monuments should be, at earliest, the latter part of the ninth century B. C.; but they may well fall in the first half of the eighth. Finally, in the Kara Dagh (central Lycaonian) sub-group, is found the same coincidence of late relieved with late linear inscriptions, a specimen of the latter class being accompanied, on one monument, by an incised representation of a seated bearded figure which clearly is of about the same age as that on the Bor stela.

The genesis and political significance of these South Cappadocian monuments shall be considered in my third lecture, together with historical questions which are raised by the other groups of Asia Minor, and by the Syrian and Mesopotamian Hittite remains.

LECTURE III

CONCLUSIONS.

Who, then, were those Hittites whose Kings, in the ninth century, were credited with taking service for Assyria against Damascus? Of what race or races? How come to Northern Syria and South-Eastern Asia Minor? Whence and why equipped with a variety of the particular and peculiar civilization which had been proper to the imperial Hatti of the Second Millennium? None of these questions can yet be answered with finality. But, summing up the evidence of to-day, we may divine the direction which further research will take to-morrow.

The last question—whence and why Hittite civilization came to Syria—shall be taken first, since the others depend on it for answer more than it depends on them. It is an archaeological question, primarily concerned with monumental evidence. I have given reasons already (see p. 16) for finding it, on the one hand, impossible, on stylistic grounds, to affiliate the earliest Hittite plastic art of Syria to the latest Hattic of Cappadocia, and, on the other, very difficult to affiliate it to any earlier phase of Cappadocian art. If the examples of the use of Hittite scripts in the two areas be compared, the same *impasse* results. It is well known that any North Cappadocian use of Hittite script at all is attested but rarely and sparely by the monuments, even if extra-Cappadocian outliers be brought into the account. The earliest class of Hattic monuments, which is represented by the dado-sculptures of the Euyuk façade, gives no example of its use,[1] and the earliest script characters, appearing on monuments of a later class (e. g. on the Ferakdin relief), are morphologically so primitive that, if the origin of the Hattic script be presumed of earlier invention than the sculpture of the Second Cappadocian Style, it must have been remarkably slow in development.

I am inclined to believe that its development was in fact very slow, having been arrested in Cappadocia by the competition of the

[1] An unpublished block, recently uncovered at Euyuk, of which Th. Macridy Bey kindly sent me a photograph, shows two script characters before a seated bearded figure. But its art, in my opinion, is of the second, not the first, Hattic style; and if so, the block does not belong to the original façade-dados. In what position it was found I do not know.

cuneiform script which is known to have been in use there as far back as the early part of the Second Millennium B. C I suggest, therefore,[1] that when, later in that Millennium, the Hattic invaders introduced a rude pictographic system invented at some previous stage of inner Asiatic history, this proved, as they came to settle down, so much less apt to civilized needs than the locally established system, that little or nothing was done by them to develop their proper script. Like later Turks they used the vicarious hands of subject scribes, and adopted cuneiform for all governmental purposes, while the pictographic script, remaining static, was hardly used except to meet some occasional demand of official or religious conservatism. No attempt was made to simplify it for epistolary and commercial uses; and thus its reduction to a linear incised character came to be postponed till it should have been introduced to an area where cuneiform was not at home. Such an area was North Syria, through which great trade-routes passed between east and west. When eventually the introduction of Hittite writing to Syria took place, the relieved pictographs (to judge by the earliest examples of their use which have been found at Carchemish) had already undergone considerable development in both their forms and their schematic arrangement. Where and when had that development taken place? Not in North Cappadocia, nor again in South Cappadocia, nor in any other part of Asia Minor. For, on the one hand, the Cappadocian examples of post-Hattic use of the relieved characters seem all to be of later date than the earliest Carchemish examples; and on the other hand, they fail to illustrate any intermediate morphological stages.

Thus not only Hittite art but Hittite writing in Syria stands in need of explanation. To what quarter are we to look? To the North, or to the West, or to the South? These quarters are too well known, and they offer no hope. To the East? This quarter has supplied cause for much in western civilization. Does it still offer any fertile area so large and so ill explored that to this day it may hide the cradle of yet another culture? There does lie, in fact, immediately east of Northern Syria, a Mesopotamian area which is both of wide extent and very ill known. To the east of it again the Assyrian land, though well explored so far as the later epochs of its history are concerned, appears to have been civilized in earlier epochs still tantaliz-

[1] Cp. Meyer's hypothesis in his *Reich u. Kultur*, pp. 42 ff., which is here varied.

ingly obscure. As for the Mesopotamian area in question, it was occupied in the last half of the Second Millennium and, doubtless, for long before (but how long is not known) by the powerful Mitannian people, which held, between the desert edge and the Taurus mountains, a broad down-land with many fertile arable parts not only in the north, about the important modern towns of Urfa, Diarbekr, Mardin, and Nisibin, but also far to southward down the valleys of the Euphratean tributaries, Belikh and Khabur. This people (as has been inferred from the earliest recorded names of governors of Assyria) either first established, or at an early time extended, its early settlement in the Tigris valley itself. Subsequently, though pressed westwards, it still remained in the sixteenth century B. C. one of the greater powers of Western Asia. Its princely house intermarried with the Egyptian of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and its overlordship extended over not only almost all northern Mesopotamia but also northernmost Syria.

So important an imperial state must have possessed a civilization, and that of comparatively advanced type, as civilization is to be judged by the standards of the Second Millennium B. C. But except for one royal Mitannian letter written in cuneiform and couched in a non-Aryan tongue, which was addressed to Amenhotep III of Egypt and found in the Tell el-Amarna archives, we have recovered no actual material product whatever which can be ascribed certainly to those imperial Mitannians. The nature of their presumptive civilization and the culture-group to which it may have belonged remain unknown; and the possibility, inferred from Hattic archives, that in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries their princely house was of a stock different from that of the people, only thickens the darkness. Hattic documents, however, exist to show that political relations had long subsisted between this realm and the Hattic, and that the Mitannian people (whatever the case of its princes) worshipped Teshup, whose character and attributes seem indistinguishable from those of the chief Hattic god.

Archaeology has undertaken no serious survey of any part of the Mitannian home-land, and only at one or two points—on the upper Khabur and near Seruj—has its surface been broken by a scientific excavator. Chance, however, or native enterprise, has brought a few significant objects to light. For example, the Seruj district, which is situated within its western fringe, has yielded, from more than one site (notably from a mound called

Boztepé), seals of Hittite character, of which a dolerite example, now in the Ashmolean Museum, is comparatively early, i. e. probably of the latter part of the local Bronze Age. More significant, however, than these small things (because found much farther east and less likely to be relics of some Syrian expansion across the Euphrates) are the dado-reliefs, pottery, and other antiquities excavated by von Oppenheim at Tell Khalaf, near Ras el-Ain. The sculptures had all been built, says their discoverer, into the façade of a single structure; but, as he rightly divined, they are of two periods, and can be distinguished not only by their respective styles, but by their execution in two differing materials. The later slabs, which alone exhibit short legends in cuneiform, are of a soft reddish limestone; while the earlier, which show no script-legends of any kind, are of dolerite. The art of all alike is rude and provincial. Both series show men with full face-hair and strong nasal development, the noses on the earlier reliefs being the larger and the more rounded at the tip (Figs. 49, 50). The remarkably close analogy borne by one relief, representing a horseman with round shield riding bareback and barefoot, to one of the reliefs of the earliest dado-series at Zenjirli has been noticed and illustrated above (Figs. 3, 4).

Fig. 49. TELL KHALAF.
Older style.
From the original in the British Museum, by permission.

It is hardly disputable that the earlier series of reliefs at Tell Khalaf and the earliest series of dados at Zenjirli belong to one artistic family. If so, it is to the Hittite family. Or, again, that they are more or less contemporary works. But the precise nature of their relationship is less obvious. It is not likely that either series was the parent of the other; they are too widely separated in space, and, probably, too nearly approximate in date. Further, the bearded men of Tell Khalaf can hardly represent the same race as the beardless men of Zenjirli. The relationship,

therefore, of the two series is not that of parent and child, but probably that of cousins; that is to say, both were derived from a common forebear, some earlier Hittite art, which, if it cannot be that of the Cappadocian Hatti—for the Tell Khalaf reliefs are even less possible derivations from Hattic art than those of Zenjirli—has to be sought either in North Mesopotamia itself or further east.

When von Oppenheim publishes, as he will do shortly, the full results of his excavations, he may be able to bring his pottery and other small objects found at Tell Khalaf to bear upon the problem. Some of his pottery, indeed, like the reliefs here illustrated, is in the British Museum, owing to a hazard of the late War[1]; but it is without accompanying notes of levels, or of the associations in which it was unearthed. It is better, therefore, to ignore it in the present connexion. Nor, for the moment, is it required. The older series of reliefs leaves no manner of doubt that an art of the Hittite family prevailed in the Mitannian area at the epoch at which they were executed; and, if regard be had to the Zenjirli analogies, and if the earliest series there be rightly ascribed to a date in the eleventh century B. C., then that epoch in question may be fixed towards the end of the Second Millennium. That is to say, the antiquities found at Tell Khalaf, if Mitannian, belong to the latest days of the Mitannian people—to days after it had lost not only empire, but also political independence, and almost all its distinction as an ethnic unit.

Fig. 50. TELL KHALAF.
Later style.
From the original in the British Museum, by permission.

This being so, we are not yet very much wiser. The existence

[1] A consignment of Tell Khalaf antiquities was captured on the high seas during the War, and, having been condemned by a Naval Prize Court, was sold.

of a North Mesopotamian Hittite civilization in the eleventh, or at earliest the twelfth century, would not solve the dual problem of Hittite origins in Syria and Cappadocia, unless that civilization could be shown to have descended from an older local culture equally Hittite. Proof of such ancestry cannot yet be offered. But nevertheless, there are certain indications that Hittites and Hittite civilization had an earlier history in north and central Mesopotamia. I have mentioned already the Seruj seals, and now will bring to their support certain features of the well-known story, told by a late cuneiform annalist, concerning the catastrophe of the First Babylonian Dynasty, about 1850 B.C., at the hands of 'Hatti'. Who these were and whence they had come the story does not say: but it is stated that subsequently they retired northwards, and deposited at Khani (which was somewhere on the left bank of the middle Euphrates, near modern Deir ez-Zor, on the south-western confines of the Mitannian country) a statue of Marduk which they had carried off in their retreat. Thence Babylon eventually retrieved it. Now, would the defeated Hatti have deposited the divine image there and left it for a generation or two had they not come again within their own proper borders? That is to say, was not north-western Mesopotamia the region from which they had originally marched on Babylonia? I do not venture to assert that these 'Hatti' were really Mitannians, an ethnic of whose origin and exact range in space and time we are ignorant; but there is nothing in the use of the Hattic name by a late Babylonian scribe to invalidate that possibility (see p. 3). I do, however, venture to maintain that the story implies the presence of a population which culturally was Hittite in North Mesopotamia early in the Second Millennium, and perhaps earlier still.

In any case, particular research should be devoted to the North Mesopotamian mounds, with a view to testing the nature of the civilization of the Mitannians and determining if it were Hittite; also if it were of early enough date, and sufficiently equipped and vigorous, to have been responsible for the genesis of Hittite culture not only in North Syria about the end of the Second Millennium, but also in North Cappadocia some centuries before. I believe these two kindred cultures to have been independent derivatives from a common ultimate source. A further suggestion is, perhaps, worth making—that the appearance about the eighteenth century B.C. of a body of Hatti in Cappadocia strong enough to overbear its local cuneiform-using people, and

after some generations of nomad life to settle down at Boghazkeui and found a stable state, which within two centuries developed into an empire, was one result of that expulsion of 'Hatti' from Babylon and the subsequent establishment of the Kassites in Mesopotamia. If Hittite power was driven north at that time, Hittite culture may well have remained in North Mesopotamia as a heritage to be taken over by other peoples—by the Aramaean tribes, for example, and by those 'Hatti' (whoever they may have been) who are shown by annals of Nebuchadrezzar I to have been so powerful in Mesopotamia, in the last half of the twelfth century B. C., as to attempt again a raid on Babylon.

To explain both the Hittite art of Tell Khalaf and also the Hittite art of North Syria, we require in North Mesopotamia a Hittite culture of the earlier part of the Second Millennium, which lasted on through that millennium, and was still of sufficient vitality and capacity in its closing centuries to capture the successive waves of Aramaeans, which we know to have rolled up from the Arabian deserts between the first and the second imperial phases of Assyria; and, furthermore, to send on some of those Semites over the Euphrates equipped with Hittite culture.

It may be, of course, that, however confidently Mesopotamian-Mitannian lineage be claimed for Syrian Hittite culture, it cannot be so confidently presumed for the earlier Cappadocian Hittite. The latter may have been derived directly from a yet older and remoter common parent lost to our sight in the inner continent—perhaps in that Altaic cradle of art, whence some hold that eastern as well as western Asia received its first seeds of civilization. But, if Mitannian civilization can be shown to have been from first to last Hittite, its common motherhood (seeing that it would be ancient enough to precede even the Cappadocian culture) will account, better than one more remote, for the essential similarities of the Cappadocian and the Syrian Hittite civilizations; and its long existence in a region exposed directly to South Mesopotamian influences would explain the degrees in which respectively those influences acted, directly or indirectly, on the two main Hittite cultural areas west of the Euphrates.

Presuming then that Mitannian, or at least North Mesopotamian, civilization during most of the Second Millennium was Hittite, I pass to other questions which arise about the Syrian

'Kings of the Hittites'. Certain facts (some have been stated above) about the Mitannian country, its peoples, and its vicissitudes towards the end of the Second Millennium, are known from Assyrian sources. Those to the present purpose are as follows. First, that the country in question was traversed by horde after horde of Semitic nomads, known to history as Aramaeans. Second, that these (or a part of them) continued their movement westwards to the Euphrates, and, by the twelfth century, were settled and dominant on a long stretch of its left bank. Third, that in the succeeding century, if not earlier, Aramaean forces pushed across the river to occupy lands of considerable extent in North Syria. Fourth, that during fifty years reckoned from a date early in the twelfth century the eastern part of North Mesopotamia was being harried by quite other hordes, chief and most aggressive of which was one composed of, or led by, Muskians. Fifth, that about the middle of that same century the menace which this horde offered to Assyrian territories was dealt with decisively by Tiglath Pileser I, the Muskians and their followers being thrust westwards, or north-westwards, out of the Assyrian neighbourhood. Sixth, that some four centuries later a well-established Muskian Kingdom was existing north of Taurus in south-east Asia Minor, near enough to North Syria to join Carchemish in action against Assyria, too distant or too strong to be punished effectually by the latter, and still stable enough, another half-century later, to foil Assyrian attempts to penetrate the plateau from a Cilician base. Seventh and last, that the two Kings of this Muskian state who happen to be mentioned in Assyrian records bore a name Mita (dynastic more probably than personal), which seems to be identical with Graeco-Phrygian Midas, and with the root of the ethnic, Mitanni.

The first of these facts should be compared with the Assyrian evidence about Samal, which shows that, as far back as the tenth century, at any rate, its society had Semitic princes, and that, in the seventh century, its rulers were still Semites. Add the archaeological evidence, already cited, that it was using a Semitic tongue and script as far back as any examples of its local writing are known, but that it cut Semitic characters on stone in the manner of the Hittite relieved script. Further, that its earliest Hittite monuments were executed not long before 1000 B.C. All these items of evidence taken together prompt a double inference —that the Aramaean invasion of North Syria brought with it a Hittite art, which (as well as the practice of engraving Semitic

script in relief) had been acquired in a precedent stage of Aramaean history; and, further, that this stage had been passed in contact with a Mitannian civilization. The art in question, as first carried over Euphrates, was but little Semitized, and probably no Semitic script was yet used by its importers. The Aramaean pioneers of the West were probably in the first stage of derivative civilization: having acquired a culture from aliens, they had yet to transmute it in the crucible of their own nature and produce anything independent. But this would soon come with the art of the Citadel Gate reliefs and first use of a Semitic script, which apparently followed immediately. The earlier art of the Town Gate reliefs, therefore, near kin as it is to that of the first series of sculptures at Tell Khalaf, may be taken to represent, more or less accurately, the stage reached, in the last two centuries of the Second Millennium, by Mitannian-Hittite art, reproduced at Zenjirli, not by Mitannians or Hatti, but by Aramaeans.

The case of Carchemish was not so simple, nor is it now so clear. Here the earliest Hittite art, represented by certain reliefs at the Water Gate, differs slightly, but unmistakably, from the earliest at Zenjirli; and, as I have argued in my second lecture, probably the Hittite script, which, to the exclusion of all Semitic scripts, would be the local mode of writing for more than three centuries to come, was introduced originally with that art. With the second class of Carchemish sculptures, however parallelism with Zenjirli begins. The reliefs of the Staircase Court represent an art, whose history has so much in common with that of the Citadel Gate dados at the other site, that perhaps we must infer that on both sites in the tenth century a new wave of influence modified the Hittite culture which had been introduced in the century before. But this original culture had differed on the two sites, its respective carriers not having belonged to the same society or had quite the same cultural experience. If then the pioneers who originally 'Hattized' Zenjirli were Aramaeans, we must conclude that the Carchemish pioneers were of another stock.

This conclusion is inevitable, if it be conceded that the Hittite script was introduced to Carchemish by the Hittite pioneers. It is too difficult to believe that any group of Aramaeans, which had not introduced it to Zenjirli either at first or subsequently, would have been in a position, about the same date, to introduce it elsewhere; or, again, that if the

pioneers of Hittite culture at Carchemish were Semites, they would have failed to adopt subsequently one of those scripts whose use other Semites were developing in Syria. Semitization of Carchemishian art, it is to be observed, was slow, and no Semitization of its script ever took place first or last. The facts can better be accounted for if we assume that at Carchemish the Hittite culture was introduced by non-Semites to whom the Semitic type of culture was uncongenial.

On the assumption, then, that the pioneers of Hittite civilization at Carchemish were not Aramaean, other ethnical names which, in the cuneiform records, denote peoples on the move at that epoch in North Mesopotamia must be considered. In or about the year 1130 B.C. Nebuchadrezzar I had to deal with a body of 'Hatti', who appeared from the north on his borders, and, like the 'Hatti' of some eight centuries previously, proceeded to attack Babylonia. That they should have made any attempt on so strong a state argues them to have been in considerable force. In the event, they were repulsed northward, but precisely whither or how far we are not told, any more than whence originally they had started. It is tempting to regard them as a Cappadocian coalition of Hattic exiles, landless and restless since the downfall of their imperial dynasty; and accepting them as the founders of Hittite dominion in Carchemish during either their advance or their retreat, thus to link that foundation to the elder Hittite power. On the other hand, while, as has already been said more than once, the application of the name Hatti by either Assyrian or Babylonian scribes to a people does not imply necessarily its ethnic identity or even kinship with the Cappadocian Hatti, but indicates only that the horde in question was composed of, or led by, men of Hittite culture, it is hardly possible on archaeological grounds to credit 'Hatti' of Cappadocian extraction with responsibility for the first Hittite culture of Carchemish. Objections adduced above to direct derivation of the earliest Zenjirli style from the latest, or indeed any, Cappadocian Hattic style apply with equal or greater force to the earliest plastic style of Carchemish. It was no continuation of the Cappadocian style, but relatively a less developed phase of Hittite art. If, however, the Hatti now in question were not Cappadocian Hatti, they may (for all we can tell) have been any element of North Mesopotamian population, settled or unsettled, Mitannian, Muskian, or what not, which chanced to possess Hittite culture at that epoch.

Failing Cappadocians, the Muski, credited by Tiglath Pileser with having menaced Assyrian peace during some two generations, must be considered. They, or a remnant of them, are stated to have withdrawn westwards with their allies, in the middle of the twelfth century, from those parts of North Mesopotamia that lay within reach of the Great King. Nothing is said in any record to connect them with Carchemish at that epoch or indeed at any other, except at a much later date, when, in the time of Sargon (late eighth century), a Muskian state was in alliance with a Carchemishian King—a connexion which of course may have been of old standing and based on some blood-fellowship. These later Muskians were at home in some region of south-eastern Asia Minor. Can its situation be fixed more closely? and if it can, do monuments of that region suggest that Muskians had a Hittite culture?

The data for placing precisely the historical Muskian Kingdom of Asia Minor are few. Cappadocian Hattic records (so far as read and published to date) do not contain, among numerous mentions of tribal and local names, any allusion to Muskians; from which negative fact it is permissible to argue that before 1200 B.C. this people had not come within the Hattic orbit, i. e. was not yet established in eastern Asia Minor. In point of fact, as has already been said, Muski are heard of for the first time later than that date. Then they were in North Mesopotamia; but from subsequent Assyrian records, especially those of Sargon and Asshurbanipal, it is clear that, from at least the ninth century, they occupied some region of south-eastern Asia Minor in force. This must have lain not far north of the Taurus; for, otherwise Assyria, never desirous, so far as we know, of military adventure on the Cappadocian plateau, would hardly have made repeated, if vain, attempts to chastise them. Asshurbanipal's punitive forces advanced upon their territory from Plain Cilicia, a fact which, combined with our virtual certainty that all the stretch north of Taurus, from the Euphrates to the eastern mountain border of the Lycaonian plain, was occupied by the well-known states of Milid, Tabal, and Kumani, points to the seat of the Muskian Kings in neo-Assyrian times having been some part of the region which lies immediately north and north-west of the Cilician Gates. Beyond the defiles which lead immediately to that pass from the north lay the rich Tyanitis of classical times, for which no Assyrian special name is known. Was this the Muskian land? If so, it is of interest that the Muskian royal

name, Mita, should occur in an inscription, in Phrygian script, which was found on the site of Tyana itself, a very ancient city, reputed a foundation of 'Semiramis', and mentioned in more than one Cappadocian Hattic record.

North again of Tyanitis, behind a narrow belt of low hills, opens out (as stated in my second lecture) the fertile Argaeus district, whose capital, the Roman Caesarea (now Kaisariyeh), bore an earlier name which was written by later Greeks Mazaka, but is not mentioned in any published Hattic record. It has been suggested more than once[1] that this name, and the ethnic, Muski or Mazki, are related philologically; and it may be pointed out that a historical mid-Cappadocian tribe called by the Greeks Moschi, who were in all probability survivors of the Muski, inhabited in Roman times a district near Mazaka on the north-east.

If this location of the later Muskian Kingdom be correct—even if only one or the other of the two districts just mentioned was its seat—then, surely, its civilization was Hittite. Over both districts are distributed Hittite monuments of the ninth and eighth centuries; and during just the period when Assyrian records expressly attest the existence of a Muskian Kingdom no remains attest any other local civilization. How, then, did Hittite civilization reach it? It might have come from one or more of three Hittite foci—from Northern Cappadocia, by way of the Halys valley; or from North Syria, by way of the eastern Tauric passes; or from North Mesopotamia, by way of the crossing of the Euphrates near Malatia.

The first source is the least likely. It is true that the Ferakdin monument argues Hattic art not unknown during the thirteenth century in southernmost Cappadocia; true, further, that the Malatia sculptures show some affinities with North Cappadocian art. But, apart from the probability that all the Mazakan and Tyanean monuments are from three to four hundred years later than the thirteenth century (pp. 47, 48), there is too predominant a southern element in both their art and their script. If they were derived from North Cappadocian culture, how came their makers to use so largely the linear characters?

The Syrian source presents less difficulty. Marash is a half-way house, whence Tauric passes would have offered ready passage

[1] Cp. Olmstead, *Assyrians in Asia Minor* (*Anatolian Studies*, presented to Sir W. M. Ramsay, p. 286), and my own article, *The Hittite Monuments of South-eastern Asia Minor*, in the same volume, p. 237.

to Syrian Hittite influence. Roads between Marash and Mazaka have always been, and still are, much travelled. There is nothing in Mazakan or Tyanean art and script-usage which Syria could not have originated; and the latter's vigorous Hittite culture could hardly have failed to influence Cataonia from the opening of the First Millennium onwards. On the other hand, however, no known Syrian remains explain altogether the Malatia sculptures. Both the art and the script of the latter betray some ancestry older than the Syrian Hittite culture; and they can hardly be divorced from the monuments of the regions adjacent on the west. This is to say, it would be unreasonable to maintain that while the Malatian art is not derived from Syria, the Tyanean is of Syrian origin.

If neither of these sources meets all the conditions of the Tyanean case, will the third and last satisfy them? A North Mesopotamian origin would explain both the northern and the southern characteristics of Malatian Hittite art, which, then, would be west Euphratean work of a race extruded from Mesopotamia after experience of, and participation in, a Mitannian Hittite culture. The date of the Malatia monuments should fall about as early as the first Hittite art of Carchemish, to which they clearly stand in the relation of cousin, and apparently not that of either mother or child. The same cousinship removed by a degree can be predicated of Tyanean monuments, notably those at Ivriz (see later p. 62).

I suggest, then, that the genesis of Tyanean Hittite art is to be traced to Malatia, and that of Malatian art, in its turn, eastward to a source beyond the Euphrates—a source common to the Hittite civilizations of both Syria and South Cappadocia. At both ends of this track Muski appear at different epochs—at the Mesopotamian end in the twelfth century, and at the Tyanean end by the tenth or, at latest, the ninth. The conclusion of the matter is that, in tracing Hittite culture along that track from east to west, one probably follows the course of a Muskian retreat which carried Mitannian-Hittite civilization to an ultimate bourne in the Tyanitis.

If a migration of Mesopotamian Muski, equipped with the essentials of Hittite civilization and in particular with its peculiar art and relieved script-characters, was passing westward across the Euphrates in the latter part of the twelfth century, it will be remarked that this was, roughly, the moment of the introduction of Hittite civilization to Carchemish. Can this, too, have been

a Muskian achievement? In any case some society has to be credited with the introduction, other than that which brought Hittite culture to Zenjirli; for this did not bring one asset, among the most characteristic and important, viz. the script. Further, as said above, the earliest plastic art of Zenjirli differs from the earliest Hittite at Carchemish. A Muskian mass migration from central North Mesopotamia must either have forked to north and to south of the Taurus, and impinged on the Euphrates in two columns, or have moved at successive moments in at least two waves, which took different tracks, the southernmost ultimately flooding over the river and into Carchemish in the late twelfth or early eleventh century. Beyond such suppositions we can hardly get at present, although there are some positive grounds for presuming political and cultural connexion between Carchemish and the Muski. Their respective Kings were in alliance in the eighth century against Assyria; certain features of the Tyanean reliefs at Ivriz compare with Carchemishian art better than with any other—for example the particular type of horned mitre worn by the god (outside Mesopotamia I know it nowhere else than at Carchemish), and the robe worn by the King. It should be noted also that, in both the Carchemishian and the South Cappadocian Hittite areas, men of the tenth and ninth centuries are represented as wearing full face-hair, including moustache, contrary to contemporary usage at Zenjirli; and that the two Hittite scripts, relieved and incised, were in simultaneous use.

If further research should prove that the Muski, or, as the Hebrews called them, Meshech, introduced two Hittite cultures west of the Euphrates, they will become an object of more interest than hitherto to historians, though in fact more than one tantalizing historical question of no little moment concerning them has already been canvassed. How came they to be terrorizing North Mesopotamia in the twelfth century B.C.? Had those Muskians sprung from the north and moved from or through Asia Minor? Or, seeing that the Boghazkeui archives appear to make no mention of any clash between them and the Hattic power, is it not more reasonable to derive them from another quarter? A historical as well as a philological connexion may have to be recognized between the *Mita* dynasty and the *Mitanni*. Is it conceivable that the Muski were a last remnant of the Mitanni themselves, whose proper name appears no more in our records after the twelfth century? If so, any Hittite culture that Muskians carried westward in that century would have

been a late development of the original Mitannian civilization, by which, first the Hattic of Cappadocia, and subsequently the Aramaean-Mitannian of Zenjirli, had already been engendered and dispatched on their westward missions. Finally, it has often been asked, what, if any, connexion there was between those Mita Kings of Tyana in the first half of the First Millennium and the Midas Kings of Phrygia who loomed large on the morning horizon of Ionia.

Aramaeans, then, at Zenjirli, Muskians, perhaps, at Carchemish, and, more certainly, at Tyana, the 'Kings of the Hittites' were not all (if, indeed, any were) of the pure blood of the once imperial Cappadocian Hatti (though Muskians may have had cousinship with it). In other cases, e.g. of the Kings of Hamath, racial origin cannot be inferred with any assurance from the few known royal names, e.g. Toi of Hebrew records or Jaubidi of Sargon's Annals. But it may be said that if these princes were Semites, they were, probably, of the Amorite, not the Aramaean section. By the Assyrians, however, and equally by the Hebrews, all were brought alike into the Hattic category, because the common civilization of all their kingdoms was one which, in Mesopotamia and in Cappadocia, for some centuries previously, had been the distinctive mark of 'Children of Heth'. No Assyrian record speaks of Hatti as settled in Syria before 1200 B.C. Passing and temporary elements of Cappadocian Hattic race must, of course, have been known there during two previous centuries at least; and such aliens, settled among the indigenous population, will account for the allusions in O.T. to Hittite families and individuals resident in Palestine under its Judges and its earliest Kings. But no culture properly to be called Hittite seems to have existed south of the Taurus and west of the Euphrates before the twelfth century. Therefore I have not accepted the terms 'Early Hittite' and 'Middle Hittite' for those Chalcolithic and Bronze Age antiquities of the middle Euphrates valley about which I spoke at the beginning of my second lecture (p. 25 n.). Rather they seem to me to represent a culture which from first to last was a northerly outlier of the Sumerian.

Whatever the original race which introduced Hittite culture to Carchemish, it must have grown increasingly impure as generation succeeded generation in a commercial city situated on a main road between West and East. In all probability the twelfth (or eleventh) century conquerors of that city never formed more than a minority of its population, predominating by virtue

of superior iron weapons and will to power. Some Semitic infiltration must soon have begun and rapidly increased. That such elements did, in fact, contaminate the civic body seems to be indicated by the approximation of later Carchemishian art to that of Zenjirli and Sakjegeuzi. Carchemish was bound to become cosmopolitan, and its remains show signs of growing failure of particularism and enhancement of luxury. These may be traced from the monuments of the Second Style down to those of the 'King's Gate' tower—from the hirsute, well-girded, short-coated men of the former series, to the smooth-faced, well-liking, and long-robed men of the latter. Evidently the social life led by Syrian Hittite communities in the Hebrew Monarchical period differed considerably from that of the imperial Cappadocian Hatti, whose monuments look like the work of a very dour, priest-ridden folk somewhat insensible to the refinements of civilization, and by their little variety suggest a very self-centred, exclusive society. The Syrian monuments, on the other hand, which exhibit much greater variety of physical types, represent more mixed and cosmopolitan societies, living, under softer conditions than those of the Cappadocian highlands, in close touch (as was to be expected) with the luxurious south, and receptive of outside influences. Not only do lists of tribute and booty exacted from Carchemish by neo-Assyrian Kings imply great local wealth and luxury, but that city's volume of trade and its familiarity with fine foreign commodities may be inferred from the contents of tombs of successive periods in its neighbourhood, notably those of the seventh and sixth centuries opened in 1913 at Devé Huyuk about fifteen miles west, on the line followed by the trunk road of all ages from Aleppo and the west to the Carchemish ferry—the line now of the Baghdad railway. There a small and relatively poor cemetery was found to contain products of Egypt, Phoenicia, Cyprus, Rhodes, and even Athens, not to mention others to which parallels are to be sought in South Russia. Syrian Hittite art is obviously more joyous than the Cappadocian Hattic, and increasingly betrays aspirations to express beauty. Syrian Hittite royal residences were less massive and forbidding. The presence of a bath room in a Zenjirli *Khilani* shows consideration for amenities. But beyond such generalities nothing useful can be said in detail about the Hittite-Aramaean apparatus of life unless and until the smaller Zenjirli antiquities are published.

The Syrian Hittite cities were, of course, in no sense imperial,

but self-dependent units ruling adjacent lands which rarely extended to a radius of much more than a day's journey from the capitals. Such seems to have been the normal political organization of Syria from early times—a kaleidoscope of small states ever being submerged to reappear under new names, and from time to time falling under the loose overlordship of one or other of the imperial powers which developed to south, east, or north. These powers, down to the epoch at which territorial occupation of alien states was organized by Assyria, i. e. in the latter half of the eighth century, left autonomy to the Syrian principalities, subject only to payment of tribute and levies, to contribution of soldiers when required, to right of access for the overlord at any time, and to recognition of his enemies as theirs.

From the collapse of the Cappadocian Empire about 1200 B.C. down to the middle of the eighth century it does not appear that any lasting overlordship was imposed on North Syria. The Hittite states founded in the twelfth and eleventh centuries enjoyed therefore a long opportunity to develop their peculiar civilization, unhampered by serious pressure from without. Hence the remarkably rapid cultural progress which their monuments both of art and of script attest. Their reduction of the relieved pictographic characters to a purely linear system speaks to long and comparatively peaceful addiction to commerce. Since, however, no such legible body of local archives as has preserved events of Cappadocian political history has come to light on any Syrian site, and since neither Cappadocia nor Egypt had any concern with North Syrian states during almost all their Hittite period, hardly any Hittite-Syrian history is known to us. Even Syrian contacts with Assyria, which began before the ninth century, have not resulted in our being told anything beyond the barest facts of Assyrian action and its immediate consequences. The existence at Zenjirli of a few legible contemporary inscriptions adds little. The one event of significance that they reveal is a typically Semitic episode of domestic bloodshed—the sort of episode that recurs again and again in the histories of Arab principalities.

By what names the Hittite deities of Carchemish were invoked is, of course, not known, pending a decipherment and an interpretation of its Hittite texts which may be more convincing than any yet put forward. Iconographic evidence suggests that the bearded god of Carchemish, wearing horned mitre and brandishing war-axe, is the same as the god of Ivriz; but even

if we knew the latter's name[1] it would be as unsafe to presume it for a Carchemishian god as to transfer the east Cilician *Tarkhu*, or the Mitannian *Teshup*. All that at present we can say is that Carchemishian art shows a god, generally armed, but (as in the 'Hadad' statue) sometimes not, and also a goddess, who presumably were a divine pair; that it shows many secondary divine and semi-divine figures of South Mesopotamian character, which reappear for the most part at Zenjirli; and that once and once only is portrayed in sculpture the nude goddess of Mesopotamia, who appears on so many Syro-Hittite seals. At Zenjirli, on the other hand, we know that, in the eighth century at any rate, the deities were Semitic. Bar Rekub proclaims himself worshipper of Baal of Harran; and the names of Hadad, El, and Shemesh appear in an inscription of his predecessor, Panammu. A sky-god, armed with thunderbolt and battle-axe—the divine type of most frequent occurrence on Syro-Hittite cylinders—is shown in the Citadel dado-reliefs; and in juxtaposition to him stands his consort or pair, a female figure with mirror—clearly a goddess of the Astarte type. Several other divine or semi-divine figures of the Mesopotamian class, furnished with heads of eagles or lions, and generally winged, appear also in the series. But it exhibits no other clearly recognizable god; while, in the earlier Town Gate series of sculptures, all anthropoid figures, except two winged genii, seem meant for mortals. The Zenjirli sculptures as a whole, however, offer more than enough inferential evidence (even if we had not positive evidence from written texts) to prove that the local cults were of the Mesopotamian Semitic category.

Thus in sketchy fashion at best I have conducted you over the length and breadth of the area in which Hittite monuments have been found. My single purpose has been to illustrate the civilization of those 'Kings of the Hittites' who were contemporary with the Hebrews of the Monarchy, and to try to discover their origin and racial character. Theirs was the youngest and latest-born branch of the Hittite cultural stem; and they were small men in comparison of either the Cappadocian Hatti or the

[1] That he was the Cilician *Sandon* or *Sandes* (e.g. Sayce, *Proc., S.B.A.*, 1906, p. 133; Ramsay, *Luke the Physician*, p. 171; Frazer, *Adonis*, &c., p. 93) is an unconfirmed guess, which lacks probability so long as Cilicia fails to yield evidence that it ever was a Hittite land. The reading of that name in a group of Hittite characters is, therefore, a treacherous starting-point for any attempt to decipher the script.

contemporary Assyrians who ultimately engulfed most of the later Hittite societies. At the same time the achievement of these societies in developing and prolonging, in the face of greater powers and richer civilizations, the life of a highly individual art and a wholly independent system of writing far on into the age which became pregnant with Hellenic culture, and that withal in a region with which during infancy and early adolescence Hellenic civilization was in touch direct or indirect—such achievement gives them a cultural importance disproportionate to their political stature.

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